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Translation

WE SERVE THE HOMELAND AND THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM

By

MAR SU DIMITRIY FEDOROVICH USTINOV



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21 June 1982

WE SERVE THE HOMELAND AND THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM

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[Book "We Serve the Homeland and the Cause of Communism," by Mar SU Dimitriy Fedorovich Ustinov, Voenizdat, 100,000 copies, 127 pages; published in the series: "Implementing the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface; slantline-enclosed passages printed in italics indicated by [it.]; slantline-enclosed passages highlighted by use of double-spaced words marked by [ds]]

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[Text] This book discusses how the Soviet people, under the guidance of the CPSU, are implementing the grandiose plans for building communism, the struggle for peace and security of peoples specified at the 26th CPSU Congress. The author reveals the totally popular character of defense of the socialist homeland, the principal tasks and directions of further increase in the combat readiness of the USSR Armed Forces, which are reliably guarding the peaceful, productive labor of the Soviet people. This book is intended for a broad readership.

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INTRODUCTION

The USSR Armed Forces, just as the entire Soviet people, live and work under the beneficial influence of the ideas of the 26th CPSU Congress. Persistent, purposeful work is being performed in subunits, units, on naval ships, and in all military collectives on carrying out the congress designs and on unswerving improvement of training and increasing the combat readiness of troops and naval forces.

The 26th CPSU Congress became an important landmark in the heroic history of the Leninist Party and Soviet people, in the history of the world socialist system, the national liberation and international Communist and worker movement. It signified a new and higher point in the forward movement of the Soviet homeland toward communism, illuminated with the light of collective wisdom the prospects of further comprehensive development of our mature socialist society, and specified ways to preserve and strengthen world peace. The congress convincingly demonstrated that our party is worthily carrying out its leadership and guiding role in society and is proceeding on a faithful Leninist course, in close unity with the people.

The program of building communism which was elaborated at the 26th CPSU Congress was concretized at the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and formally stated in the USSR laws on state economic and social development plans for 1982 and for the 11th Five-Year Plan, adopted at the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th Convocation.

Everything specified in these plans expresses the root, vital interests of the people. Persistently implementing them, Soviet citizens are displaying a high degree of vigilance toward the aggressive intrigues of imperialism. Through the fault of militant U.S. and NATO circles, which have adopted a policy of undermining détente and toward achieving military superiority [prevoskhodstva] over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, the international situation became sharply aggravated toward the beginning of the 1980's. Faced by a military threat proceeding from imperialism, the Soviet Union is compelled to strengthen its defense capability and to maintain its Armed Forces in a continuous state of combat readiness.

Army and navy personnel clearly understand the high degree of responsibility placed upon them by the party and people. They are tirelessly working to master

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their potent combat equipment and weapons, are improving their field, air and sea proficiency, their moral-political conditioning, are endeavoring to carry out combat training missions in an exemplary manner, and are strengthening organization and discipline. Their active participation in socialist competition constitutes a vivid expression of the patriotism of Soviet servicemen.

The high praise which was given to the Armed Forces by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mar SU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the USSR Defense Council, at the 26th CPSU Congress, is inspiring servicemen to achieve new successes in combat and political training and in their daily performance of duty. Together with the entire people, army and navy personnel are campaigning to achieve an unswerving increase in the might and glory of their homeland. Solidly ranked behind the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, Soviet servicemen are carrying out their patriotic and internationalist duty with honor. They are worthily continuing the heroic traditions of the older generations, are vigilantly guarding the peaceful labor of the people and the great socialist achievements, and are faithfully serving the homeland and the cause of communism.

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Chapter One. IN THE NAME OF COMMUNISM AND PEACE ON EARTH

1. The USSR -- Vanguard of Social Progress, Bulwark of International Security

From its very first foreign-policy action -- Lenin's Peace Decree -- to the Peace Program for the 1980's, adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the Soviet State has been unswervingly dedicated to the cause of peace, freedom and security of peoples. "Our struggle to strengthen peace and deepen international détente," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26st CPSU Congress, "is first and foremost a struggle to guarantee for the Soviet people requisite external conditions for accomplishing the tasks of construction which face them. With this we are also resolving a problem of a truly worldwide nature, for today there is no more vital, more important question for any people than the preservation of peace, than securement of the very first right of each and every individual -- the right to life."¹

The present international situation is marked by an aggravation of the contest between two currents in world politics. The Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community are consistently and firmly pursuing a policy of holding the arms race in check, strengthening peace and détente, and defending the sovereign rights and freedom of peoples. Standing opposed to this policy is the policy of the United States and its accomplices, aimed at undermining détente, at escalating the arms race, and at crushing the liberation struggle of peoples.

This contest is distinguished by extraordinary intensity. Aggressive U.S. and NATO circles are seeking at all costs to disrupt the present military-strategic balance and to gain military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. They are attempting to place the socialist countries in a state of siege [osadnoye polozheniye] and to push back the forces of national and social liberation.

Taking the path of political adventurism, the U.S. Administration is more and more frequently resorting to an openly warmongering lexicon. High U.S. officials assert, with a cynical disregard of the fate of peoples, that "there are things which are more important than peace" and that so-called "limited" nuclear war is entirely permissible and that victory can be won in such a war. It is more and more loudly being claimed that the leading NATO power "should be the strongest in the world," and statements are being made that the United

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States and its partners should intensively arm, and thus exert constant pressure on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The administration in Washington is attempting to place in doubt all positive advances which were achieved jointly in the area of Soviet-American relations in the 1970's. Those people who are invested with government authority in one of the world's largest powers -- the United States -- as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, are much more anxious to talk "not about détente but rather about confrontation, not about peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation but about utilization of trade for military-strategic purposes, not about agreements on the basis of equality and equal security [ravenstva i odinakovoy bezopasnosti] but about dictate from a position of military superiority, not about elimination of focal points of conflict through joint efforts, but about creating more and more new military bases, about building up one's military presence in various regions of the world, not about holding the arms race in check, but about 'additional arming' [dovooruzhenii], not about limiting or banning various weapons, but about building additional new, even more destructive means of mass annihilation of human lives."²

In addition, they are not only talking about such a policy but are putting it into practice. The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) which was signed in the summer of 1979 has not yet gone into effect. The United States, followed by certain other Western powers, is impeding the process of reaching an agreement at the Vienna talks on mutual limitation of forces and arms in Central Europe. Washington has unilaterally refused to discuss question pertaining to limiting military activities in the Indian Ocean and on limiting the sale and delivery of conventional weapons. It is making every effort to avoid entering into talks on total and universal banning of nuclear weapons testing. The United States has not yet ratified the treaties on limiting underground testing of nuclear weapons and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, treaties which were signed several years ago. The treaty limiting antimissile defense systems, which has been in effect since 1972, is being undermined.

All this is nothing other than disdain for the peace-seeking aspirations of all peoples and outright opposition to détente. But there is no reasonable alternative to détente. This fact is clearly understood by those political leaders in the West to whom a sober-minded approach to the objective realities of today's world is not alien. Broad segments of the population in the capitalist countries are also becoming increasingly more deeply aware of this. An anti-war, anti-missile movement has been launched in a number of Western European NATO countries as well as in the United States itself -- an unambiguous response to the dangerous militarist policy of the leaders of this bloc.

The campaign for détente and for improvement of the international political climate is an extremely complex and difficult business, which demands enormous staying power and firmness, purposefulness and tenacity. "Whoever thought," stated V. I. Lenin, "that it is easy to achieve peace, that it suffices merely to mention peace and the bourgeoisie will hand it to us on a platter, is a very naive individual."³

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An increasingly deeper understanding by the masses of the vital necessity of restraining aggressive imperialist forces and of the irreversible nature of the catastrophic consequences to which nuclear war can lead if these forces succeed in unleashing such a war is impelling millions of people throughout the world to become actively involved in settling the root questions of world politics and, of course, the principal, most burning question of how to preserve peace.

Our country is making an enormous contribution toward preventing war. By its high-principled and constructive approach to international affairs, by its willingness for mutually beneficial cooperation with other countries on a basis of equality, and by its consistency and firmness in pursuing a peace-seeking policy, the Soviet Union has won from the peoples of the world enormous prestige and gratitude. All people of good will see the Soviet Union as the tried and proven vanguard of social progress of mankind and an invincible bulwark of international security and peace.

The USSR proceeds from the position that preserving and strengthening peace is inseparable from holding the arms race in check. It has done and is continuing to do everything it can to lessen the threat of another world war. The foreign-policy program advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress has become an important normalizing, stabilizing and motive force in world politics. It contains an extensive group of peace-seeking proposals. These include a deepening of measures to build confidence in the military area and broadening of the area of their application; immediate continuation of Soviet-American strategic arms limitation and reduction talks; establishment of a moratorium on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missile weapons by the NATO countries and the USSR, plus other proposals.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are working persistently to implement this program. Urgent implementation of its provisions is becoming particularly vital in connection with the unceasing growth of aggressiveness on the part of imperialism and intensification of militarist preparations by the United States and NATO. The Appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World" has evoked enthusiastic response in every corner of the world. This appeal emphasizes: "Securement of peace has been, is now, and will continue to be the highest goal of the foreign policy of the Soviet State...."

"In our nuclear age dialogue and negotiations are needed by all to an equal degree, just as everybody needs peace, security, and confidence in the future."⁴

Caution and careful consideration in foreign-policy steps, honest and at the same time bold efforts in the name of international security and peace are demanded in the present-day situation more than at any time in the past. All Soviet peace initiatives are fully in conformity with these demands. They are grounded on the principle of equality and equal security of all parties and are permeated with the endeavor to overcome the aggravation in international relations and to proceed further along the road of deepening détente and to take concrete, practical steps to resolve the problem of limiting the arms race. The USSR proceeds from the position that there is no area of disarmament and no category of arms on which an agreement could not be reached.

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The endeavor on the part of the Soviet Union to hold the arms race in check and to prevent a nuclear catastrophe was once again convincingly affirmed at the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly, which adopted a number of most pertinent resolutions on documents submitted by the USSR. A central place among them is occupied by the UN General Assembly Declaration on Prevention of a Nuclear Catastrophe. It was adopted by the overwhelming majority of participants in the session, in spite of attempts by the United States and other NATO countries, which voted against the resolutions, to place in doubt the need for such a declaration. It formally states that those nations and government leaders who are first to resort to employment of nuclear weapons would be committing the gravest crime against mankind.

An overwhelming majority of votes also supported another Soviet proposal -- to conclude a treaty prohibiting the deployment in space of weapons of any kind. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, the General Assembly adopted a resolution, submitted by the GDR on behalf of all the brother socialist countries, condemning the manufacture of neutron weapons.

Adoption by the international community of documents on disarmament, many of which are based on ideas advanced by the Soviet Union, has become one more convincing demonstration of the fact that the highly principled, peace-seeking policy of the USSR, defined by the 26th CPSU Congress and expressed in the Peace Program for the 1980's, enjoys the approval and support of the majority of the world's nations.

The visit to the FRG by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which took place in November 1981, was an important political action in practical implementation of the Soviet Peace Program. The new Soviet proposals advanced during this visit constitute a constructive program for curtailing nuclear arms in Europe. It proceeds from a most important principle -- the principle of equality and equal security of all parties -- and is appraised by the progressive international community as a new and weighty contribution by the USSR to the cause of peace and the security of peoples.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG is of special significance for the entire aggregate of relations between East and West at the present complex stage of world development. One of the main conclusions which follows from the Soviet-West German talks is that nations, independent of their social system or participation in various military alliances, should make every effort to continue working jointly for the sake of strengthening peace and restoring a climate of détente and confidence. And it is important that this be a reference point for the practical policies of all nations.

The Soviet Union intends to seek positive results at the Soviet-American talks being held in Geneva on nuclear arms limitation in Europe. It is also in favor of the earliest possible resumption of talks between the USSR and the United States on strategic arms limitation, while preserving all positive advances which have already been achieved in this area. The USSR believes that the proposals made in 1978-1981 by the socialist countries participating in the talks greatly help overcome the impasse at the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of forces and arms in Central Europe.

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The Soviet Union is marching shoulder to shoulder with the other /socialist countries/ in its consistent and firm struggle to hold the arms race in check, for disarmament, peace and security of peoples. "The greatest good for all mankind is the fact that the unified might of the socialist countries and their vigorous policy in defense of peace restrain the aggressive aspirations of the imperialists and create a decisive barrier in the path of unleashing a nuclear missile world war by the aggressors," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "This result of the policy of the socialist nations benefits all mankind."⁵

Just, equal, truly fraternal relations bind the USSR with the nations of the socialist community -- with Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. The socialist community has become the mightiest association of peoples in the history of the world. No other association can compare with it in rate of economic growth, in scale and significance of social tasks being accomplished, or in influence on world development.

The CPSU and the Soviet State are tirelessly concerned with strengthening the unity, expanding and improving the comprehensive cooperation among the brother nations and are doing everything to strengthen the international position of the socialist community and to build up joint efforts in the campaign for peace and social progress. CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is making an outstanding contribution to this work, toward innovative development of revolutionary theory and practice of building a new society.

Cooperation among the socialist countries rests on faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, and a commonality of root interests and goals. Internationalism is one of the main sources of the strength of socialism. It is a most important condition in the successful development of each of the brother countries and the sure advance of our entire community. Such is the dialectic of building and defending the new society.

The mutual relations of the brother peoples and nations are permeated by sincerity, the deepest trust, and a spirit of genuine equality, friendship and comradeship. The USSR Constitution proclaims friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance with the socialist countries to be the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy. The constitutions of the majority of brother nations also stress the ideas of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Communist and worker parties comprise the guiding and organizing force of the socialist community. A fundamental unity of views on all major problems of socioeconomic development, international politics, and coordinated, harmonious efforts in accomplishing the tasks of building socialism and communism constitute a result of their continuous interaction.

In recent years the brother countries have been compelled to conduct this building process in increasingly complex international conditions. The world economic situation has worsened. The process of détente has been impeded through the efforts of imperialist reaction and its stooges. The United States and NATO are escalating the arms race. The ideological struggle in the world

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arena is becoming aggravated. Reactionary forces are stepping up their attempts to undermine the international solidarity of the socialist nations and to shatter the foundations of socialism from within.

They were counting particularly heavily on events in the Polish People's Republic, seeking to destroy the socialist system in this country, to restore a bourgeois order in Poland, to detach Poland from the socialist community, and thus to attempt to alter the results of World War II and postwar development.

Relying on the worker class and on the support of all Poland's patriotic forces, Poland's duly constituted authorities organized and led the resistance to counterrevolution. The situation in Poland is gradually stabilizing. Polish Communists and all genuine Polish patriots have the full support of the brother peoples and nations in this effort.

The life-giving bonds which link the nations of the socialist community are indissoluble. Strengthening of these ties and close interaction in building and defending the new society are fully in conformity both with the national and international interests of the brother peoples.

Today, when the reactionary forces of imperialism and their accomplices have undertaken a massive assault against détente, peace and the rights of peoples, unity of actions by the socialist countries in defense of these great values and in accomplishing the tasks of building is more important than ever before. Such a unity is a guarantee of success in the contest against imperialism and reaction and a guarantee of fuller utilization of the advantages of the socialist economic system and the capabilities discovered by advances in science and technology.

Steady strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries is promoted by their constantly deepening /political cooperation [ds]/ and development of the entire system of bilateral and multilateral relations of the brother parties and nations, including the Warsaw Pact Organization. The activities of this specifically defensive organization, and particularly its Political Consultative Committee, have an enormous role to play in European affairs, in international affairs as a whole, and in the campaign for peace, preservation and strengthening of détente, and the campaign to lower the levels of military confrontation in Europe and other regions of the world. The initiatives advanced at the Political Consultative Committee meetings in Bucharest, Moscow and Warsaw constituted an important contribution toward strengthening peace and international security.

Political cooperation among the socialist countries is a living, creative process. It is constantly being enriched and taking on new, fruitful forms. A most important place in political cooperation is occupied by regular contacts among the leaders of the brother parties and nations. A special role in such practical contacts is played by friendly get-togethers and talks in the Crimea. The most important tasks pertaining to development of cooperation among the socialist nations are discussed during these meetings, and further steps toward strengthening peace and international security are coordinated.

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A large contribution toward deepening political cooperation among the brother parties and nations is made by regular exchange of party-government delegations, meetings of Central Committee secretaries for international affairs and matters of ideological and party-organizational work, and expanding contacts between party organizations at all levels -- from republics, krays and oblasts to rayons and large enterprises. Contacts between government agencies, public organizations, and production collectives are also successfully developing.

/Economic cooperation [ds]/ among the socialist nations also promotes the building of a new society, a guarantee of the security of the brother nations, preservation and strengthening of peace. Opening wide the door to realization of the advantages of the socialist mode of production within the framework of the socialist community, it ensures dynamic and stable development of the brother countries. Indicative in this regard are the more than 30 years of activity of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance. In the period 1975-1980 growth in the level of industrial output of the CEMA member nations was more than triple the world average. And their rate of growth of national income, which has increased by two-thirds in the last decade, was almost double that of the developed capitalist countries.

Steady growth of production, acceleration of scientific and technical advances and, on this basis, a constant growth of national prosperity are provided by socialist economic integration. It is encompassing more and more new domains, is assuming an increasingly rapid pace, and is being embodied in implementation of long-range specific-purpose programs. The successes of joint labor are attested by the construction of such major projects as the "Soyuz" [Alliance] natural gas pipeline, the "Mir" [Peace] power system, the Ust-Ilimsk Pulp and Paper Plant, the Erdenet Mining and Concentrating Combine in Mongolia, nickel plants in Cuba, and many other construction projects. The "Interkosmos" program has become a vivid symbol of the fruitful friendship and cooperation among the brother peoples and nations. All that has been accomplished by the socialist countries in economic development and in raising people's living standards comprises an entire era, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed.

New proposals on further development of economic cooperation among the socialist nations, advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress, are being sequentially implemented. These proposals have received enthusiastic support in the brother countries. The aim is to turn the coming two five-year plans into a period of intensive production and scientific-technical cooperation among the socialist nations and to supplement coordination of their plans with coordination of overall economic policy. Bringing the structures of economic mechanisms closer together, development of direct links between ministries, associations and enterprises taking part in co-production, the establishment of joint firms, plus others, constitute important problems of economic cooperation. Resolution of these problems should promote comprehensive deepening of interaction among the economies of the socialist countries, improvement of its efficiency, and further unification of our efforts and resources.

Deepening cooperation in the economy, science and technology is promoting satisfaction of the needs of all the brother nations, growth of the economic and defense might of the socialist community, and is expanding the capabilities of genuine socialism to hold in check international forces of reaction and aggression.

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A most important component of the joint struggle by the socialist countries for peace and social progress is coordination of their efforts in the /area of ideological work [ds]/. The commonality of our communist philosophical outlook and faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism -- that all-conquering teaching under the banner of which all revolutionary forces of the present day are uniting -- gives this work enormous effectiveness.

Recent years have been marked by a sharp activation of imperialist propaganda and intensification of hostile anti-Soviet, antisocialist campaigns, aimed at slandering socialism and distorting everything taking place in the socialist countries. Such propaganda and such campaigns have been elevated in the United States and certain other countries to the rank of state policy and have been transformed into unbridled psychological warfare.

Particularly important in these conditions are aggressiveness and purposefulness of ideological and all political indoctrination work with people, and efficient cooperation among the mass information agencies of the socialist countries. the truth of genuine socialism, its great humane nature, its firm adherence to peace and, together with this, convincing, objective exposure of the incurable flaws and evils of the capitalist system and the reactionary, aggressive nature of imperialism constitute a powerful weapon in the struggle against our class enemies.

/Cooperation in the area of strengthening defense [ds]/ is of the greatest importance for successfully guaranteeing the security of each of the brother countries and the entire socialist community as a whole. "We," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "devote unabating attention to this task. This applies first and foremost to relations with the member nations of the Warsaw Pact, which is a powerful instrument of political and defense cooperation of the socialist nations."6

The multifaceted cooperation between the Soviet Union and the nations of the socialist community is expanding and growing stronger year by year. A tireless joint search is being conducted for ways to achieve the best possible combination of national and common interests and efficient accomplishment of the grandiose tasks of building socialism and communism.

Permeated by a spirit of socialist internationalism, the friendship of the brother countries is becoming increasingly deeper and more fruitful. The world of socialism has made into a reality relations between nations which are truly relations between peoples, relations in which millions and millions of people directly participate. This is a fundamental achievement of socialism and represents a great service by socialism to mankind.

Relations are also constantly developing between the USSR and those socialist countries which are not members of the Warsaw Pact or the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance. The friendship between the Soviet Union and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has deep roots. Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation is advancing in many areas. The USSR expresses inalterable solidarity with the struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for peaceful, democratic unification of the homeland without outside interference. Our country seeks to deepen and enrich and its relations with the DPRK.

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Faithfulness to socialist internationalism, equal, mutually beneficial cooperation and mutual assistance are giving a powerful acceleration to the development of the socialist countries and are leading not simply to an increase but to a multiplication of their forces in the struggle to build a new society, for peace and social progress. This conclusion is confirmed by the wealth of practical revolutionary experience of the contemporary world. Objective reality also graphically shows the result of departure from the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism and distortion of the principles of socialism and its essence in domestic and foreign policy. The experience of socioeconomic development of the PRC during the last two decades can serve as a severe lesson of this type.

Time has fully confirmed the correctness of the appraisals which our party made of Maoism and its petit-bourgeois, nationalist essence. The present Chinese leaders, as was indicated at the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPC, held in June 1981, continue to view Maoism as the foundation of the ideology and policies of the CPC. A number of anti-Soviet points have been confirmed in PRC policy in the international arena. It is focused on a struggle against the USSR, on aggravation of the international situation, and on increasingly more common cause with the most aggressive imperialist circles.

As regards the Soviet Union, it consistently advocates normalization of relations with the PRC and unswervingly pursues a policy of peace and good-neighbor relations. This policy is both in the interests of world peace and in the genuine interests of the Chinese people, for whom the Soviet people unflinchingly have feelings of respect and friendship.

The USSR and the other nations of the socialist community are constantly concerned with consolidation of all antiimperialist, progressive forces in the struggle for peace and social progress. They devote paramount attention to the development of mutually beneficial economic and scientific-technical cooperation with /countries which have become liberated from colonial oppression,/ particularly with nations of socialist orientation, countries which have chosen the road of socialist development. These countries have in the nations of the socialist community reliable and true friends and natural allies in the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, for peace and social progress.

Cooperation between the USSR and liberated nations encompasses various domains -- politics and the economy, interparty relations and defense, culture and tourist travel, and training of indigenous cadres. In recent years the Soviet Union has concluded treaties of friendship and cooperation with Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Syria, and the People's Republic of the Congo. One of the first such treaties was signed with India in 1971. The USSR trades with more than 80 nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Trade volume with these countries has more than tripled in the last decade and is continuing to grow.

Attempting at any cost to impede development of the revolutionary process and to isolate the liberated countries from the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, imperialism resorts to crude pressure, blackmail, and outright political sabotage. Cynically flouting the rights and aspirations of

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peoples, it seeks to portray their liberation struggle as a manifestation of "international terrorism" and to represent as involvement in terrorism the assistance the socialist countries render to liberation movements. By means of this lie, the Washington administration figures to crush national liberation movements by encouraging domestic counterrevolution in liberated countries and by external aggression.

This is not a new technique. And the aim which it pursues is quite obvious. It consists in restoring imperialism's lost international position, in restoring to it the role of arbiter of the destiny of peoples, and to place an obstacle in the path of progressive reforms throughout the world. Imperialism views as the main obstacle on the road toward achieving this aim the socialist community and its assistance to liberated countries. Hence attempts to distort and slander this assistance.

Respecting the sacred right of peoples to determine their own fate, the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations do not interfere in the internal affairs of liberated countries and do not seek any advantages whatsoever for themselves. The assistance and support of the socialist community help achieve progressive socioeconomic and cultural reforms in liberated countries, preservation of their sovereignty, and strengthening of their independence in the face of the feeble neocolonialist intrigues of imperialism. Assistance in strengthening defense capability, which the USSR and the other brother nations give liberated countries at their request, also pursues this goal.

The Soviet Union always has opposed and continues to oppose the export of revolution. But we also cannot accept and never will accept export of counterrevolution. We hold this high-principled position. Our attitude toward the events pertaining to Afghanistan is also grounded on this position. Imperialism attempted to export counterrevolution to this country. This situation forced the government of Afghanistan to request assistance from the USSR. And such assistance was given to Afghanistan. It was highly praised by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, noting that "if heroic Afghanistan had not been given assistance by the great Soviet Union, a revolutionary, free, independent and nonaligned Afghanistan would not exist today."⁷

This statement clearly shows the great hypocrisy of attempts by imperialist propaganda to represent the temporary entry into Afghanistan of a limited Soviet military contingent as "intervention." This step is in full conformity with the UN Charter. Its vital necessity and timeliness were reaffirmed by the cynical acknowledgement made in 1981 by the U.S. President that the bands entering Afghan territory from without are being armed by the United States of America and that Washington's military assistance to these bands will continue in an increasing magnitude.

As for the question of withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the DRA, this question can be resolved on the basis of a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation in conformity with the program advanced by the government of the DRA on 14 May 1980 and on 24 August 1981. The

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USSR is prepared to withdraw its troops on agreement with the Afghan Government. For this to come to pass, there must be a complete cessation of sending revolutionary bands into Afghanistan, and there must be reliable guarantees that there will not be renewed intervention. The Soviet Union has already demonstrated its faithfulness to its word, in June 1980, by withdrawing from the DRA, on agreement with the Afghan Government, those Soviet military units the presence of which was no longer necessary. This became possible as a consequence first and foremost of serious defeats inflicted on the counter-revolutionary bands sent [zasylyayemykh; also translates as "infiltrated"] into that country.

Thanks to the international assistance of the Soviet Union rendered to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the plans of imperialist and other reactionary circles to destroy the achievements of the April Revolution in that country failed. The policy of the People's Democratic Party and the government of the DRA is in conformity with the national interests of Afghanistan, strengthens the power of the people, and is leading to sequential stabilization of the situation in this republic.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev once again emphasized the firmness of the internationalist position of the USSR in his acceptance speech when awarded the highest decoration of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan -- the Order of the Sun of Freedom. "...Just as the Soviet Union has assisted the Afghan people in defending their revolutionary achievements," he stated, "our country is also prepared to help Afghanistan in the future to ensure a just political settlement in the interests of international peace and stability."⁸

The Soviet Union views as legitimate and just to the highest degree the aspiration of young nations to defend their acquired freedom and independence and to defend their territorial integrity against the intrigues of imperialism. This aspiration is embodied in particular in the activities of the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia and Africa. They play an important role in uniting the efforts of the peoples of these continents in the struggle against neocolonialism, hegemonism and racism, for preserving and strengthening peace. The antiimperialist activity of other political and economic organizations and associations of liberated countries is also growing.

The nonalignment [neprisoyedineniya] movement has been and continues to be an important factor in international relations. Emerging more than two decades ago, today it unites approximately 100 nations of different continents with a population of more than one-and-a-half billion.

The USSR and nonaligned nations occupy common or close positions on many root problems of the present day. Development of friendship and comprehensive cooperation with these nations has been and continues to be a fundamental policy of the USSR. Such cooperation objectively promotes the cause of strengthening peace and social progress.

/The world Communist and worker movement/ constitutes a mighty force of the antiimperialist front. It has grown to an even greater extent in recent years.

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Its influence has expanded. The political vanguard of the international worker class -- Communist and worker parties -- has also grown stronger. Today such parties are active in 94 different countries. Communist ideas are capturing the minds and hearts of additional tens and hundreds of thousands of people throughout the world.

The CPSU, which is one of the fighting detachments of the world Communist movement, is fighting persistently for unity and cohesion of the brother parties and is working purposefully on further expansion and deepening of comprehensive cooperation with them on a foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Continuous contacts and mutual exchange of information help the Communists of all countries in their daily work. The common struggle of the brother parties against aggressive imperialist policy, for socialism and peace is fostering unity of the world Communist movement and increase in its prestige.

Normalization of the international political climate constitutes a two-way process, which presupposes meeting efforts, good will on the part of nations with opposing social systems, and their mutual confidence [doveriye; also translates as "trust"]. Obviously there can be no trust without reciprocity and equality, just as there can be no genuine international security without equal security for all parties. It can be ensured only if, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, "all parties treat building a firm peace as a common task."⁹

Such is objective reality. The CPSU forms and implements its policy toward the /capitalist nations/ taking this reality into account. The main thing in this policy is an organic combination of the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutually beneficial cooperation, and a firm rebuff to the aggressive intrigues of imperialism.

Recent years have been marked by a considerable activation in the Western nations, particularly in the United States, of opponents of peaceful coexistence and of improving relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. This has been dictated by further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, by deepening of the antagonistic conflicts within the bourgeois society, and by an increase in the interimperialist struggle for markets and sources of raw materials and energy. Military-industrial complexes are exerting increasing influence on all realms of life in the imperialist nations and on their foreign policy. Herein lie the causes of the present aggravation of the international situation, and from here emanates the growing threat to the cause of peace and social progress. Reactionary imperialist circles, particularly the United States, are counting not on development of cooperation with the Soviet Union, not on mutual understanding, but on the so-called "position of strength" proclaimed by Washington.

History attests to the fact that such hopes in regard to the Soviet Union have always proven false. We are capable of standing up for ourselves. And today we have at our disposal, more than at any time in the past, everything needed for this. This is why the only possible real platform for relations between the nations of the socialist and capitalist systems is talks based on the principle of equality and equal security, peaceful coexistence, and mutually beneficial cooperation.

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Our country has always supported and continues to support development of relations with the Western countries -- relations of equality grounded on mutual respect and confidence and on consideration of mutual interests. The CPSU and the Soviet State realistically appraise the fact that the situation in today's world depends in large measure on the status of Soviet-American mutual relations and sincerely seek to have normal relations with the United States. Such an approach is in the interests of the peoples of both countries and of the entire world. The USSR inalterably adheres to this approach.

During the years of détente considerable experience has been amassed in the area of cooperation among nations with differing social systems, including the USSR and the United States. Utilizing this experience, proceeding honestly and constructively, seeking to achieve a just resolution of international problems with the aid of negotiations -- the Soviet Union views this as a manifestation of genuine political wisdom and responsibility, both to the people of one's own country and to all mankind.

The USSR consistently advocates that the positive process begun in 1975 by the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should continue without interruption and become deeper, and that the principles and provisions of the Final Act adopted at that conference should be strictly observed. The USSR and the entire socialist community view the Madrid meeting of representatives of participating nations in the All-European Conference precisely from this standpoint. Reaching an agreement to convene a European conference on confidence-building measures, European security and disarmament would be in conformity with the fundamental demands of cooperation.

Peaceful cooperation between countries of differing social systems on the European continent is continuing in spite of efforts by the enemies of détente. This applies both to political contacts and to economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations.

The policy which the Soviet Union is pursuing in the international arena is a firm, consistent policy of development of cooperation, preservation and strengthening of peace. Our dedication to the cause of peace is steadfast. It proceeds from the nature of socialism. Peace is dear to the Soviet people. We need it in order to accomplish tasks of building. Tirelessly strengthening the economic and defense might of the socialist homeland and its international prestige, Soviet citizens are maintaining a high degree of political vigilance and readiness to defend the great achievements of socialism, the cause of peace and social progress. Under the guidance of the party of Lenin, they are confidently striding along the road of October toward communism.

2. Important Point on the Road to Communism

Socialism exerts its principal influence on world development by its successes in the economic domain. It is precisely in the realm of the economy and economic policy that we find the decisive front in the competition between socialism and capitalism. As was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, the foundation for accomplishing social tasks and strengthening the nation's

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defense capability, and the foundation of a vigorous foreign policy is being constructed precisely here. It is precisely here where the requisite preconditions for successful movement toward communism by the Soviet society are being created.

The Soviet economy has today gone far in its development. The productive resources of our society are mightier than at any time in the past. The scientific and technological revolution, changing the countenance of many industrial processes and entire industries, is successfully advancing and at an increasing pace. Soviet science occupies a leading position in the major fields of knowledge. Our country's economic power is ensuring a dynamic forward movement in all areas of building the material and technological foundation of communism and is reliably guaranteeing the comprehensive advance of society.

Fulllest and most efficient utilization of the capabilities and advantages of the socialist economic system is being achieved thanks to the consistent implementation of Leninist economic policy by the CPSU. The party views guidance of the nation's economy as the heart of its multifaceted activities. The meaning and content of these activities are defined by an inalterable program demand of the CPSU -- everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man. This is the party's general line of policy. The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress constituted innovative development of this policy line. The November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum concentrated the attention of party and people on the most urgent questions of economic development. In his brilliant speech at the Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev comprehensively demonstrated the great political, organizational and economic work accomplished since the 26th CPSU Congress and noted the increased labor and political activeness of the masses. He profoundly revealed ways to achieve further implementation of the congress decisions and presented a detailed description, a political and social evaluation of the plan for the second year and the entire 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

The most important features of the five-year plan include the following: intensification of the social thrust of economic development, enhancement of the role of intensive factors and efficiency of societal production in forming a stable rate of economic growth and improvement in the structure of the economy, and an increase in the end results of economic activity which advances more rapidly than expenditures on achieving the results.

The party and people are faced with large and complex tasks. Speaking about this, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed confidence that they will be accomplished. "We have everything needed for successful performance: highly-developed productive resources, sociopolitical and moral unity of the Soviet people, a precise strategy of movement forward, embodied in the congress decisions," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "It is now up to the entire party to raise even higher the level of organizational work in the area of economic development."¹⁰

The Soviet people, under party guidance, are working with inspiration in all areas of building communism. Our national wealth is steadily increasing. The people's prosperity is growing, as is our country's production and

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scientific-technical potential. The sociopolitical and ideological unity of the people, the alliance of the worker class, peasantry and intelligentsia, and the friendship of all nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR are growing stronger. Socialist democracy is deepening. The defense capability of the state is increasing. The Soviet Nation is advancing confidently in all areas of building the material and technological foundation of communism.

In conformity with this economic strategy, the party is concentrating the efforts of Soviet citizens on achieving a transition to /intensification,/ increasing production efficiency and improving work quality, maximally utilizing the advantages of the socialist economic system, scientific and technological advances, the vast economic capabilities and reserves, and achieving all-out economy in all types of resources.

Fulfillment of these demands comprises a basis for accomplishing the main task of the current five-year plan -- securement of further growth in the prosperity of the Soviet people. It also includes creation of increasingly more favorable conditions for comprehensive development of the individual, for highly productive labor, for strengthening the health and improving rest and recreation for Soviet citizens, and development of education, science and culture -- in short, everything which comprises our socialist way of life.

Implementation of the large and diversified program for increasing the people's prosperity is possible only on the basis of dynamic and stable development of material production. As we know, /an increase in national income/ is a synthesizing indicator of such development. It will grow by 18 percent in the 11th Five-Year Plan, and at least 40 percent by 1990, according to calculations.

Acceleration of scientific and technological progress, improvement in the structure of the economy and distribution of productive resources, improvement in planning and management, and boosting of the level of economic administration are subordinated entirely to achieving the goals of economic strategy and successful accomplishment of the task of intensification of societal production and securement of higher economic performance results with smaller expenditures of resources.

The party organically links a shift of the economy toward efficiency and quality with work to improve all branches of production on the basis of /acceleration of scientific and technological progress/ and extensive utilization of advances in science and technology. We are talking about technical re-tooling of production, building and universal adoption of fundamentally new equipment and materials, and application of high-productivity energy and materials-economizing technologies.

In the current five-year plan the rate of equipment renewal is being accelerated by approximately 50 percent. New, advanced industrial processes are being aggressively adopted, and the power-worker ratio is increasing. Product quality is also improving. Presently more than 85,000 industrial products are manufactured with the state Seal of Quality. This is three times more than at the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

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The efficiency of science is increasing, and its ties with production are deepening. In addition to elaboration of theoretical problems, it is concentrating its efforts to an ever increasing degree on solving key economic problems and on discoveries capable of introducing truly revolutionary changes in production. Discoveries in the area of nuclear power engineering, space and laser technology, electronics and chemistry, and in other areas of science and technology possess great potential. And it is very important that less time be required to reach practical incorporation of the results of scientific discoveries and that the path of inventions and innovator solutions to the factories, fields and livestock units not be blocked by sluggishness, routinism, bureaucratic delays and red tape.

Implementation of scientific and technological advances generates great social effect in addition to economic effect proper. It fosters the elimination of the considerable differences between intellectual and physical labor, enhancement of the role of creative functions in productive activity, improvement of working conditions, and protection of the environment.

/An increase in labor productivity/ is of key significance for intensification of the economy and a steady increase in its efficiency. The main factor of economic growth is to be found precisely here. Labor productivity throughout the nation's economy must be increased sufficiently, noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "that in this country it not be lower but higher than in the most developed capitalist countries. The socialist system gives us every possibility to accomplish this. It is only a matter of being able to utilize these capabilities correctly, to learn to manage efficiently and thriftily."¹¹

Ninety percent of national income growth is to be obtained in the 11th Five-Year Plan through increasing labor productivity. Successful accomplishment of this task presupposes all-out acceleration of total mechanization and automation of production, adoption of the brigade form of organization of labor, and a gradual reduction in the percentage share of low-skilled, manual, and particularly heavy physical labor. An important role is played by increasing production at existing enterprises, with a stable or even decreasing number of employees. Growth in labor productivity is inconceivable without a high degree of organization, discipline, and responsibility in each and every section, in every production team, and at every work station.

Intensification of the economy imposes high demands both on the entire economy and on each sector. The party devotes particular attention to stable, balanced /growth of heavy industry./ More and more new large enterprises are coming on-stream. The Sayan-Shushenskiy Hydroelectric Power Station, the Chernobyl', Kursk, and Armenian nuclear power stations, the Zaporozh'ye and Uglegorsk GRES's [State Regional Electric Power Plant], Europe's largest, the Atomash Plant, the Lisichansk and Pavlodar oil refineries, meat-packing combines in Lipetsk and Zhitomir, the Main Kakhovka Canal, plus many other facilities came on-line in the last five-year plan. The family of industrial giants was joined by KamAZ [the Kama Truck Plant] in the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Designed output was reached ahead of schedule at the Leningrad Nuclear Power Station, and new generator units were brought on-line at a number of other large electric power stations. Total length of track on the "construction

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project of the century" -- the Baikal-Amur Mainline -- went past the 2200 kilometer mark in 1981.

Territorial-production complexes are developing briskly in the European part of the RSFSR, in the Urals, Siberia, in the Far East, in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan. The establishment and development of an entire complex of branches as well as servicing facilities are a characteristic feature of the present stage of their formation.

The following facts give a graphic picture of the level presently reached by Soviet industry. Soviet industry produces more than three times as much per capita than the world average. Total USSR industrial output volume comprises one-fifth of world production. This is approximately as much as is produced by all the countries of Western Europe combined, yet the total population of these countries exceeds by one-third that of the Soviet Union. The USSR is now the world leader in production of oil and steel, cement and mineral fertilizers, road diesel and electric locomotives, plus many other important products.

Concentrating the efforts of the Soviet people on resolving the most pressing economic problems and on correcting bottlenecks and disproportions which still exist in the economy, the party focuses paramount attention on the /fuel-energy complex [ds]/. The task of improving its structure has been placed on the agenda. It is necessary to reduce the percentage share of oil as a fuel, to replace it with natural gas and coal, to speed up the development of nuclear power, and to continue the search for fundamentally new energy sources. The 11th Five-Year Plan is the first stage in carrying out the USSR energy program drawn up at the initiative of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Components of this program include the USSR Unified Power System, which presently encompasses an area with a population in excess of 220 million, as well as this country's Unified Gas Supply System. They are steadily growing and improving.

In the /metallurgical industry [ds]/ there is consistently being implemented a policy of radical improvement in the quality of metal and metal products simultaneously with production growth, increase in output of efficient metal products, reduction of losses and waste, and decrease in expenditure of metal per unit of end product. Production of substitutes is expanding. Their employment in place of traditional materials generates considerable economic effect. The employment of 1 million tons of pipe made of polymer materials, for example, can replace 5 million tons of steel pipe. Savings in capital investment will amount to 1.7 billion rubles, with savings of approximately 0.7 billion rubles in pipeline construction.

A transition by the economy to an intensive emphasis is directly dependent on the development of /machine building [ds]/, for it is machine building which provides renewal of fixed assets and technical retooling of various areas of the nation's economy. It opens the door to everything new and advanced created by scientific and engineering thought. And the more rapidly these new innovations are put into production and embodied in highly efficient, reliable machines, instruments, and production lines, the more successfully the problems of improving the efficiency of the economy are resolved.

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Securement of a rapid rate of growth of the base branches of industry leads to increased manufacture of those products which determine technological progress. At the same time this creates a solid foundation for increasing the manufacture of consumer durables.

The party views improving supply of consumer durables to the public as a primary task. Much has been done to accomplish this task in the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. For the current five-year plan as a whole, manufacture of such goods will increase by 180 billion rubles over the preceding five-year period. This is more than their entire output volume in 1980. The product mix is expanding and being updated, the quality of consumer goods is improving, and the sale of new, stylish, as well as inexpensive high-quality goods is increasing. The work performed by trade enterprises, public food services and personal services enterprises, as well as the entire service industry is further expanding and improving.

Work on a vast scale aimed at ensuring interlinked, balanced development of those branches forming the /unified agroindustrial complex/ is continuing in this country. Almost one-third of all capital investment in the nation's economy is being funneled into this complex. A large portion of these funds is earmarked directly for boosting agricultural production and transforming agriculture into a highly developed sector of the socialist economy. Successful accomplishment of this task depends in large measure on how wisely the allocated funds are utilized. Each and every hectare of land, each and every ruble invested, each and every ton of fertilizer should produce maximum return.

Present party agrarian policy, the foundation of which was laid down by the decisions of the March (1965) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, constitutes a continuation and innovative development of V. I. Lenin's teaching on the agrarian question in new historical conditions -- in conditions of a mature socialist society. Its sequential implementation ensures comprehensive, dynamic development and a steady improvement in the efficiency of all sectors of the economy, and is leading to an increasingly fuller satisfaction of the public's demand for high-quality foodstuffs and industry's demands for raw materials.

Accomplishment of the tasks facing agriculture is fostered by continuous strengthening of its production potential and further development of such specialized branches as rural construction, land reclamation and water conservation, machine building for livestock raising and feed production, and the microbiological industry. Economic and technological links between the village and industry are expanding. The scientific potential of agriculture is steadily growing. Work is continuing on transforming the Non-Chernozem zone of the RSFSR into a region of highly productive crop farming and livestock raising.

Attainment by our agriculture of those performance levels targeted by the 26th CPSU Congress will foster solution to such a serious problem as improving supply of foodstuffs to the public. "The food problem -- both at the administrative and at the political level," stressed Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "is the central problem

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of the entire five-year plan. A high rate of agricultural production constitutes the basis for solving it."¹²

The aim of the comprehensive food program is to unite efforts within agriculture proper and in those branches of industry which serve agriculture, and to subordinate the work of all these branches to a common end objective -- to meet this country's food requirements. This program is being drawn up pursuant to a decision of the 26th CPSU Congress and will be included in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Fuller utilization of local food resources as well as the capabilities of subsidiary farm operations is called upon to play an important role in providing the population with food supplies.

Growth of this country's economic potential is determined to an enormous degree by the state of /capital construction./ Improvement of its efficiency presupposes a concentration of efforts in the main areas, on completion-targeted projects, particularly those capable of generating the greatest production growth. To design and build rapidly and at the same time with quality, economically, and at a contemporary technological level -- this is a demand of the present stage of development of society. The overall pace of our forward movement depends in large measure on fulfillment of this demand and on how things move ahead in construction.

Development and improvement of the branches of the production infrastructure is of considerable significance in intensification of the economy. The party specified the tasks of improving the performance of /transportation,/ particularly rail transport. Organization of transport hauls is steadily improving, and measures are being taken to ensure efficient utilization of rolling stock and to reduce idle time for freight cars, trucks, and vessels. Considerable savings are being achieved in this regard by adoption of the experience amassed by the Leningrad Transportation Center and the railroaders of Moscow and L'vovskaya Oblast.

Accomplishment of tasks advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress pertaining to building new rail lines, increasing the technical equipment of existing railroads, and ensuring precise coordination of all components of the transportation system is proceeding at an increasing pace. Further improvement of the job being done by transportation and improvement of its links with other sectors of the economy will be accomplished on the basis of a long-range combined program drawn up in conformity with the Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990.

Achievement of excellent economic results depends in large measure on the level of /direction of the economy, planning and management./ Discussing the tasks of improving direction of the economy, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that they must be carried out "taking into account the experience and creative initiative of our people, considering the best available in the experience of the brother socialist countries as well as developed capitalist nations."¹³

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Questions pertaining to guiding the economy are not simply economic but also political, party questions. Necessary for resolving them are mobilization of the productive potential of our entire society and fullest elucidation and utilization of existing possibilities. In recent years a broad aggregate of measures have been carried out to improve the economic mechanism. The system of planning and management is increasingly being aimed at improving work efficiency and quality and at achieving excellent and economic results. Considerable work is being done to adopt new forms and methods of planning, new appraisals of the activities of work forces, and to increase the effectiveness of economic levers and incentives.

A most important condition for implementing the party guideline calling for improving the efficiency of societal production and work quality as a pivotal economic task consists in steady growth of the social activeness of the masses and their involved, active participation in the affairs of state and society. Development and universal adoption of a flawlessly operating system of incentives, both moral and material, which would impel people to work with maximum output and constantly to improve product quality, are assuming ever increasing significance thereby. The civic awareness of all Soviet citizens, their attitude toward labor and socialist property, their discipline and knowledgeability on the job, in their daily activities, and in societal affairs should be raised to a new and higher level. In the final analysis it is this which determines the today and tomorrow of every Soviet citizen and our entire society.

With a growth in the scale and complexity of production, any manifestations of mismanagement, dishonesty, careless indifference, and all failures to achieve established plans and targets inflict increasingly greater damage. Suffice it to recall how great the price of work time is today. Every minute more than 2.4 million kilowatt hours of electricity, almost 300 tons of steel, 1400 tons of coal, approximately 800,000 cubic meters of natural gas, and a vast quantity of other products are produced in this country. Wasting a single minute means irrevocably losing the results of the aggregate daily labor of approximately 200,000 workers.

There is occurring a constant increase in the significance of fuller and more efficient utilization of fixed productive assets, increased return on invested capital, and economical expenditure of raw materials, fuel, energy, metal, cement, and other materials. A most resolute rebuff should be given to any and all encroachments on public property. All means and methods must be utilized in order to close firmly all opportunities for parasitism, bribery, profiteering, and for other non-labor income.

The economy should be economical. This conclusion was affirmed at the 25th CPSU Congress as one of the most important principles of the party's economic strategy at the present stage of development of our society. Concrete ways to solve problems connected with increasing return on invested capital, maximum equipment work-loading, and reduction of energy, fuel, raw and other materials losses to a minimum were specified in a June (1981) decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. It specifies a system of measures aimed at radical improvement of all work pertaining to economy and efficient

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utilization of resources. Strict observance of economy measures is the common concern of our entire people.

Soviet citizens approach the solving of problems facing the country in a stewardly, involved and responsible manner. Socialist competition is the most vivid manifestation of such an approach and of patriotism on the part of the working masses. More than 100 million persons participate in socialist competition, seeking to achieve successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress under the slogan "Work Efficiently and With Excellent Quality!" Initiatives aimed at achieving economy of material and labor resources and at turning out high-quality products have become widespread. A characteristic feature of socialist competition is its close link with the scientific and technological revolution. It is becoming increasingly more concentrated around the problem of end results and the moral aspects of constructive, productive labor and development of the individual.

The working person, his welfare and happiness occupy the center of the party's plans and the center of the entire life of our developed socialist society. In the final analysis everything targeted to be accomplished in the 11th Five-Year Plan is subordinated to a single aim -- /a further rise in the welfare of the people./ Real per capita income has doubled just in the last three five-year periods. All aspects of the lives of working people are encompassed by major social measures. Implementation of some of the targeted measures began in the first year of the current five-year plan. State assistance to families with children is increasing, and pension support and coverage is improving. The financial situation of 4.5 million families with many children has improved and 14 million pensioners have received an increase in their pensions since the 26th CPSU Congress. Wages of persons working in the coal industry have increased.

The material benefits which our country's people receive from public consumption funds are constantly increasing. Each year from 10 to 11 million Soviet citizens move into new housing. The network of kindergartens, schools, hospitals, clubhouses, libraries, cinemas, sanatorium-health resort and sports facilities is expanding.

Soviet citizens understand well that comprehensive development of this country, successful solving of pressing economic problems, as well as further improvement in living conditions can be achieved only through their own labor. They view the party's plans as their own vital concern and are working with initiative and innovation in all areas of building communism, increasing the economic and defense might of the socialist homeland.

3. Leading Force of the Soviet Society

Soviet citizens inseparably link our country's heroic past, glorious present, and bright future with the Communist Party and with its wise leadership. Workers of city and village and members of the Armed Forces pour out their souls and direct their deepest feelings to the party. They see the party as the mind, honor and conscience of our era.

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The CPSU constructs all its revolutionary-transforming activities on the basis of eternally living, constantly evolving Marxist-Leninist teaching. All the finest things which exist in the Soviet people are embodied in the party -- its fighting revolutionary spirit, its inexhaustible productive energy, its dustriousness and wisdom. "Communists are truly the unbending core of our society, its living soul," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "They are truly the revolutionary vanguard of the people."¹⁴

The Communist Party, which is the guiding and directing force of the Soviet society, is developing and growing strong together with it. Six-and-a-half decades ago, in March 1917, its ranks totaled 24,000 Communists. The struggle of the worker class for victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution was led by a 350,000-man army of Leninist-Bolsheviks. Today the ranks of the CPSU contain almost 18 million Communists, of like mind and like action. More than half of them work directly in the domain of material production -- the decisive area of societal affairs. Approximately 1.5 million primary and shop party organizations and party groups are conducting active daily work among the masses.

Constituting the nucleus of the political system of the Soviet society, governmental and public organizations, the CPSU exercises comprehensive political leadership over governmental and public organizations and the productive activities of the entire people. The party directs the activities of governmental and public agencies and organizations through Communists working in them, and secures coordination of the efforts of all components of the political system and economic mechanism in building communism.

Almost a million deputy-Communists are working in soviets of people's deputies. They use their prestige and experience to ensure that every session of a soviet and every meeting of the permanent commission is transformed into a genuine council of people, into a collective search for the most correct decisions.

The Soviet trade unions are a reliable support of the party among the masses and a powerful means of development of socialist democracy. Many forms of democratic participation by working people in production management, acceleration of scientific and technological progress, and accomplishing sociocultural and indoctrinational tasks have been born through the ingenuity of the masses.

The CPSU performs its lofty role of vanguard of the Soviet people in full conformity with the Fundamental Law of our nation. It states that all party organizations operate within the framework of the USSR Constitution. The party never has taken and does not take the place of other organizations. On the contrary, it always seeks to ensure that governmental and economic agencies as well as public organizations work with maximum efficiency and carry out their assigned tasks with initiative and innovativeness.

A /Leninist style/ -- a scientific, innovative style, to which subjectivism is alien, from which complacency is excluded, and which opposes all manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism -- is inherent in all CPSU guiding and directing activities. The multifaceted activities of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo -- this truly fighting headquarters of

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the party -- is a model of the Leninist style of leadership. "It is precisely here," noted the 26th CPSU Congress, "that the collective intelligence of the party is accumulated and party policy, which expresses the interests of all of Soviet society, of all Communists and party unaffiliated, is formed."¹⁵

The purposeful, highly organized nature of the work of the Politburo, the Central Committee, and the entire party is determined to an enormous degree by the fact that for more than 17 years now Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has headed the Central Committee. Our country, the brother socialist countries, and millions of people of good will throughout the world extensively celebrated the glorious 75th birthday of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Expressing the thoughts and feelings of our country's Communists and the entire Soviet people, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers noted the outstanding and meritorious services of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. He is making an enormous, truly inestimable contribution to the struggle for the prosperity of our great homeland, the strengthening of its economic and defense might, and for the triumph of the ideas of communism, peace and social progress of mankind. Award to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev of the Order of Lenin and a fourth Hero of the Soviet Union Gold Star, as well as the highest decorations of a number of other countries constituted a moving acknowledgement of these meritorious services.

An outstanding party and government leader, a faithful follower of the great cause of Lenin, and acknowledged leader of the revolutionary forces of the present day, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev enjoys the boundless respect and love of the people. With his enormous capacity for work, political perspicacity, his ability to maintain his composure and remain calm in the most critical situations, his benevolence, his attention and sensitivity toward others, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev creates a healthy moral-political atmosphere within the party and within our country. Such an atmosphere promotes growth in the social activeness of the masses, their initiative and innovativeness, a flourishing of talents, of which there is an immense wealth in our people, as V. I. Lenin stated. This enables the party successfully to accomplish the most complex tasks and effectively to carry out the great mission of leading force of society.

The great wealth of experience of our country and the brother socialist countries convincingly affirms that /leadership by the Communist Party is an essential and decisive condition for successfully building and defending the new society./ It is not surprising that imperialist reaction and its servitors are willing to expend any effort and resources in their attempts to undermine and discredit the leadership role of Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries and to disparage the significance of this role. The purpose of these attempts is to weaken and shatter the very political foundation of socialism and to destroy the revolutionary achievements of the working people. Soviet citizens and the peoples of the brother socialist countries offer a resolute and firm rebuff to the intrigues of our class enemies and steadfastly follow their Communist vanguard.

A most important mechanism of development of the socialist society is a steady growth in the leadership role of the party. This pattern is of a universal

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nature. Expansion of the scale and increase in the complexity of tasks being accomplished and intensification of the activeness of all components of the political system of the socialist society demand a steady rise in the level of organizational and political indoctrination work among the masses. And only the Communist Party -- a political organization which is armed by Marxist-Leninist theory -- can encompass the entire aggregate of internal and external conditions of societal development, secure effective guidance of the activities of the working people, elaborate a correct policy, and organize its practical implementation.

The CPSU is strong because of its monolithic unity with the people. It is strong, as V. I. Lenin noted, due to its ability to establish contact, to draw closer, and to a certain degree to merge with the worker masses. Herein lies an inexhaustible source of vitality of CPSU policy. The party has gained the limitless trust and love of the people through its selfless service to the people. The prestige of the CPSU is enormous and indisputable. The great masses have become convinced through their own experience that the party is leading them along the only correct road.

Of course the role of leading and guiding force of society does not come automatically. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, it "is earned, achieved in the course of constant, ceaseless struggle for the interests of the working people. And this role is consolidated by the fact that the party is constantly deepening its links with the masses and lives by their needs and concerns."¹⁶

The indissoluble unity of party and people is a priceless possession of our society. Forged out and tempered by decades of revolutionary struggle and inspired productive labor, standing up with honor under the most difficult tests of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, /the unity of party and people forms a solid foundation of the monolithic ideological-political, social and international solidarity of the Soviet society./

Communist ideology forms the basis of the /ideological-political cohesion [ds]/ of our society. It arms Soviet citizens with knowledge of the laws and prospects of societal development. Communist ideals, standards and principles, transforming into convictions, determine a person's attitude toward civic duty, the line of one's daily conduct, and find concrete expression in an indissoluble unity of word and deed, a vigorous life position, moral integrity and purity. Communist conviction is a true compass which enables one correctly to gain one's bearings in any situation, even the most complex and acute, to discern the class essence and thrust of the intrigues of a hostile ideology, and to stop them firmly and resolutely.

The party has always viewed and continues to view as a program goal the forming of a new man, a determining trait of the spiritual countenance of whom is Communist conviction. It is proceeding toward this goal on a broad front, utilizing all the capabilities of the mature socialist society and the entire rich arsenal of organizational, political and indoctrinational means.

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A most important place in the business of indoctrinating Soviet citizens is occupied by the study of Marxist-Leninist theory, which has become a mass process in conditions of developed socialism. Almost 23 million persons are presently enrolled in study just within the party education system. The practice of holding unified political days has been adopted everywhere. Tirelessly seeking to raise the level of party education, the CPSU seeks to ensure that it teaches people, to quote V. I. Lenin, "to act as communism in fact demands."¹⁷

An enormous role in forming social consciousness and in further strengthening the ideological-political solidarity of Soviet citizens is played by the mass information media. Their effective utilization promotes an improvement in the level of knowledge, erudition, and intellectual aspirations of the Soviet citizen.

The /social solidarity [ds]/ of the Soviet society is becoming stronger on the firm foundation of socioeconomic transformations and under the determining influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology and party policy; the process of sequential drawing together of all classes and social groups and further strengthening of their indissoluble union is deepening. Appraising the experience of development of the Soviet society in the last decades, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress the thesis that "the development of a classless structure of society will take place primarily within the historical framework of mature socialism."¹⁸

Implementation of the socioeconomic and cultural development plans specified by the party is leading to a steady increase in the social homogeneity of our society. In our country the worker class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia are united by common interests and ideals, and by relations of collectivism, comradely cooperation and mutual assistance. The social cohesion of the Soviet society is becoming increasingly strengthened as there occurs a rise in the level of education, culture, and occupational training of the broadest segment of the working people. An enormous role in this is played by the gradual transformation of agricultural labor into a variety of industrial labor, the effacing of social differences between working people of the industrial and agrarian sectors of the economy, and by equalizing the differences in material, cultural and living standards between city and village.

The advance along the road to communism is accompanied by strengthening of the /international solidarity [ds]/ of our society. The mighty brotherhood of more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups, united six decades ago in an indivisible union of a socialist state -- the USSR -- is filled with inexhaustible vital forces. Their source is the Leninist nationalities policy of the CPSU. Increasing the material and spiritual potential of each republic, and at the same time maximally utilizing it for the harmonious development of the entire country, the Soviet people have attained truly historic achievements under the guidance of the party. The most substantial changes in the economic, social and spiritual affairs of the Soviet society and in the life of all the peoples of this country, as well as the profound democracy of our multinational state are expressed in the new USSR Constitution and the new constitutions of the union republics.

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The party views as its sacred duty indoctrination of working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and a proud feeling of belonging to the great indivisible Soviet homeland. The experience of building a new society and its armed defense as well as a great wealth of revolutionary practical experience convincingly affirm that it is impossible to be a patriot without being an internationalist, and on the other hand as well, it is impossible to be an internationalist without being a patriot of the socialist homeland. The unity of root interests, tasks of building, and the historical destiny of all the Soviet peoples makes our society even more cohesive and powerful.

In elaborating a course of policy and general prospects of building communism, the party constantly studies and fully takes into account the interests of all classes and social groups, all nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR. It unites revolutionary theory with daily practical activities and is supported by the high degree of social activeness and political innovativeness of the masses. This defines the genuinely popular character of the organizing and guiding activities of the CPSU. Embodying, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, the collective intelligence of the finest sons and daughters of a great people, the party scientifically expresses in its policy that which the people realize, that which conforms to the greatest degree to the requirements of this country's socioeconomic development and its dynamic forward movement along the road toward communism.

Precisely such comprehensive substantiation, political insight and realism characterize the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Working hard to implement them, the Soviet people display enormous political and labor activeness. The common cause of building communism and common concern for strengthening the economic and defense might of the homeland and the position of world socialism, for ensuring peace and international security unite Soviet citizens even more strongly behind the Communist Party. The unconquerable strength of the CPSU lies in its indissoluble unity with the people. The mighty, all-conquering strength of the Soviet people lies in a unity with the party and in its wise leadership.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, pp 4-5.
2. PRAVDA, 3 Nov 1981.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 35, page 116.
4. PRAVDA, 24 June 1981.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom: rechi i stat'i" [Following a Leninist Course: Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1973, Vol 2, page 588.
6. Ibid., page 124.

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7. "Privetstviya XXVI-omu s"yezdu KPSS ot kommunisticheskikh, rabochikh, natsional'no-demokraticheskikh i sotsialisticheskikh partiy" [Messages of Greeting to the 26th CPSU Congress from Communist, Worker, National Democratic and Socialist Parties], Moscow, 1981, page 307.
8. PRAVDA, 17 Dec 1981.
9. PRAVDA, 3 Nov 1981.
10. L. I. Brezhnev, "Rech' na plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 16 noyabrya 1981 goda: postanovleniya plenuma TsK KPSS" [Speech at the 16 November 1981 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: CPSU Central Committee Plenum Decree], Moscow, 1981, page 12.
11. PRAVDA, 20 Dec 1981.
12. Brezhnev, "Rech'...", op. cit., page 4.
13. PRAVDA, 20 Dec 1981.
14. "Materialy...", op. cit., page 218.
15. Ibid., page 69.
16. Ibid., pp 218-219.
17. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 41, page 302.
18. "Materialy...", op. cit., page 53.

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Chapter Two. CONCERN OF THE PARTY, CONCERN OF THE ENTIRE
PEOPLE

1. Defense of the Achievements of Socialism -- An Objective Necessity

Concentrating their efforts on two interrelated areas -- building communism and strengthening peace, the CPSU and the Soviet people are devoting unabated attention to ensuring the nation's security and reliable defense of socialist achievements.

Defense of the revolutionary achievements of the working people is an objective necessity. "Any revolution," stated V. I. Lenin, "is worth something only if it is able to defend itself...."¹ As long as there continues to be a threat to the achievements of socialism we must, noted Vladimir Il'ich, accompany our steps toward peace by increasing our military preparedness, we must be alert, and assiduously preserve the defense capability of our country and our Red Army.²

The Communist Party has inalterably been guided by these instructions of Lenin and continues to be guided by them at all stages in the development of the Soviet State. It organized, led and ensured the victory of the struggle of the young Red Army against the hordes of foreign military intervention and domestic counterrevolution, which were attempting to strangle the socialist revolution in its cradle. It worked persistently to strengthen the combat power of the Soviet Armed Forces in the 1920's and 1930's, when imperialist reaction engaged in massive preparations for new aggression against the USSR. It was the organizer and inspirer of the world-historic victory of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces in the Great Patriotic War.

The heroic history of our socialist homeland graphically confirms the immutable truth that there is no force in the world capable of shaking socialism and defeating a people which perceived itself to be the country's master and which views the defense of our country as its own vital concern.

The lessons which the Soviet people taught repeatedly to aggressors who dared encroach upon our land went for naught. Fanciers of military adventures and imperialist reactionary circles refused to abandon their insane plans to crush socialism by force of arms. Such plans were made in the United States at the end of the 1940's and in the 1950's. They were counting on a successful sneak

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attack on the USSR with the employment of nuclear weapons. It was only the great combat power of the Soviet Armed Forces and the development of our own nuclear weapons in this country in response to U.S. blackmail which restrained the United States from aggression.

But calculations of achieving military superiority over us and thus giving them a free hand to implement a global policy of dictate and brigandage continue to entice militant imperialist forces. These forces see the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community as the main obstacle in the path of reestablishing the international position lost by imperialism. They are seeking at all costs to hinder the strengthening of genuine socialism, to weaken and crush the national liberation struggle of peoples and the world Communist and worker movement.

Adventurism and willingness to gamble away the vital interests of mankind for the sake of their own narrow, selfish aims are today being increasingly more glaringly revealed in the policy of imperialism. "The situation has never been so serious," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "since the end of World War II."³ In whatever part of the world reactionary regimes, imposed upon peoples, begin to split apart, the forces of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, are dispatched to that area without delay, in order to consolidate by fire and sword an "order" which is to the liking of the monopoly bourgeoisie and to defend the "vital interests" of those circles which profit on the exploitation of other countries and peoples and on plundering their national wealth.

One of the clearest manifestations of /intensification of the aggressiveness of imperialism/ is the unprecedented /growth of its military preparations [ds]/. Military expenditures of the United States and the other NATO nations are increasing year by year. In the United States, for example, they totaled 225 billion dollars in 1982, while they exceed 263 billion dollars in the draft budget for 1983. In the coming five years (to 1986) U.S. militarist appropriations will reach the sum of 1.5 trillion dollars, that is, an amount which in current prices will exceed by sixfold U.S. military expenditures during all of World War II.

These appropriations are intended, as U.S. leaders state, to maintain "the most powerful and most flexible armed forces" and to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The United States has announced a new, unprecedented program of building up its strategic nuclear forces. Deployment of the next generation of nuclear and conventional weapons is proceeding at an accelerated pace. New mass destruction weapons are being developed, including chemical and bacteriological. Manufacture of neutron weapons has begun, adoption of which into the U.S. arsenal is leading to the creation of a new and sophisticated mode of unleashing nuclear war.

Following in the wake of aggressive U.S. policy, U.S. NATO partners are also accelerating their military preparations: Great Britain, the FRG, and other countries. For example, the direct military expenditures of all NATO member nations increased from 104 billion dollars in 1970 to 254 billion in 1980. These expenditures have exceeded 1.6 trillion dollars over the last 10 years and are continuing to rise.

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Large quantities of new tanks, aircraft, artillery and other weapons systems are being delivered to the troops. NATO strategic stockpiles are being increased, and intensive measures are being taken to increase the bloc's mobilization capabilities and to improve its infrastructure. The numerical strength of NATO Joint Forces in Europe exceeds 3 million men. The armies of the nations of this bloc total almost 5 million men.

Particularly dangerous to the cause of peace is the plan for nuclear missile "additional arming" of NATO, which specifies the additional deployment in Western Europe of approximately 600 new U.S. medium-range missiles [raket sredney dal'nosti]. If this plan were to be implemented, NATO would obtain a 50 percent advantage over the USSR in delivery vehicles and approximately a 100 percent advantage in nuclear warheads. This would upset not only the existing balance in Europe but also the balance of USSR and U.S. strategic forces, and a qualitatively new military-strategic situation would arise. The fact is that strategic targets in the USSR constitute targets for U.S. missiles, and these missiles can be utilized as first-strike weapons. There would arise a serious threat to the security of the USSR and its allies.

Naturally the Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to such a prospect. The Soviet Union, as was quite explicitly stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, will not permit a change in the existing parity of forces to the advantage of the United States and NATO. Our position on this matter is clear and unambiguous. It is grounded on strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security of both parties.

This principle is a meaningful platform for resolving all problems connected with military confrontation in Europe. NATO, however, is constantly drawing up and implementing new large-scale plans for modernization of armies, contrary to this principle. The offensive potential of the army of the FRG is growing particularly intensively, primarily through a sharp increase in number of tanks. The Bundeswehr has become the main NATO striking force in Europe. A buildup of West German naval forces, including submarines, is proceeding at an accelerated pace. The FRG has been virtually turned into an arsenal of U.S. nuclear weapons. Such a large quantity of these weapons has been deployed on the territory of the FRG that their density is greater than in any other part of the world. All this attests by no means to a love of peace on the part of NATO, as is claimed in the West.

Growth in the aggressiveness of imperialism is also expressed in /increased activeness of its bloc strategy [ds]/. There is being revealed increasingly more distinctly a tendency toward expansion of the functions and realm of actions of NATO. Exercises and maneuvers conducted in NATO are essentially rehearsals for unleashing and conducting a war against the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community.

In addition to existing imperialist military-political alliances, the United States is attempting to establish new ones, in particular the Pacific Association, the South Atlantic, Near Eastern, and other military blocs. Ignoring the lessons of its own history, the United States is encouraging the rebirth of Japanese militarism. Playing up to Washington, Japan's imperialist forces are

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intensifying military preparations, in violation of that country's constitution. The campaign which they are mounting around territorial claims against the USSR is of an openly hostile, anti-Soviet character. At the same time Tokyo, within the framework of the Japanese-American "security treaty," is expanding its participation in U.S. military-strategic efforts in the area of East Asia and the Pacific.

Beijing is performing the role of active accomplice of the most militant imperialist forces. It is intensifying attempts to bring the United States and NATO into a clash with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact and is conducting subversive, aggressive actions against neighboring countries, particularly against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.

The invasion of socialist Vietnam by Chinese troops in February-March 1979 revealed the true countenance of the Beijing rulers and revealed the full depths of the danger presented by their aggressive, adventuristic policy. China's acts of provocation against the SRV and its threats against Laos and Kampuchea are continuing. Beijing is participating as Washington's assistant in the undeclared war against Afghanistan.

Figuring on exploiting for their own interests the hostility on the part of the Beijing leadership toward the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, the United States, a number of other NATO countries and Japan are expanding military-political relations with China. Particularly dangerous is the decision by the U.S. Government to sell modern weapons, including offensive weapons, to Beijing. A strategic alliance between U.S. imperialism and Beijing hegemonism is being forged behind the backs of the Chinese and American peoples.

A sinister growth of aggressiveness by imperialism is also traced in U.S. efforts to expand and improve its network of military bases and military facilities, particularly those deployed around the USSR and the other socialist countries [ds]/. Washington is displaying feverish activity in the Near and Middle East. Military bases are being built in Israel and Egypt, in Oman and Saudi Arabia, while old bases on Bahrein, in Kenya and Somalia are being renovated. In Africa and on the Arabian Peninsula the United States is building storage facilities for stockpiling tanks, artillery and other heavy equipment designated for the "rapid deployment forces." The backbone of these forces in the region would be U.S. troops to be stationed in the Sinai pursuant to a U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian deal calling for so-called "multinational forces to maintain peace on the Sinai Peninsula." Under the pretext of protecting U.S. "vital interests" in the Mediterranean, large contingents of U.S. troops have been concentrated here. And there are two U.S. carrier groups virtually on permanent station in the Indian Ocean. Pakistan is gradually being turned into the Pentagon's main bridgehead in Southwestern Asia.

The United States is essentially endeavoring to consolidate its military presence throughout the world. At the present time the total number of U.S. military bases and facilities exceeds 1500, situated on the territory of 32 countries. All these are bridgeheads for aggression, on which are concentrated

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more than half a million U.S. military personnel. From these bases U.S. imperialism threatens the security of peoples.

The threat to peoples emanating from U.S. military bases and facilities is particularly great because the United States is furnishing the forces stationed there not only with the most modern conventional weapons and combat equipment but with nuclear weapons as well. For example, there are more than 7000 nuclear warheads at U.S. military bases in Western Europe; there are approximately 1500 nuclear warheads in the Pacific zone, plus an additional more than 7000 on board the warships and tenders of the U.S. Atlantic and Pacific fleets.

The danger is also heightened by the fact that U.S. military bases are virtually beyond the control of local authorities, while the nuclear weapons deployed there can be utilized without the knowledge or consent of these authorities. This situation not only flouts the sovereignty of the nations in question but also turns them into nuclear hostages of the United States.

U.S. imperialism is undertaking intensive efforts to /expand focal areas of tension and to ignite armed conflicts [ds]/. Washington is the inspiring force behind and is also essentially a direct accomplice to escalation of aggressive actions by Israel. It is heating up the explosively dangerous situation in the Near East, is guiding the expansionist policy of the Israeli aggressors, and is giving them every possible support within the framework of so-called "strategic cooperation." The scale of the threat with which the Near Eastern focal area of tension is fraught goes far beyond the boundaries of this region in connection with the fact that Israel possesses a nuclear potential, which Washington claims to be an "uncontrolled element." This means that an armed conflict in this region could escalate into a nuclear conflict.

The United States is interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign nations in practically every part of the world. It is strongly engaged in equipping the bands which are making incursions into the DRA. The South African racists are engaged in brigandage with direct U.S. complicity. Intrigues by U.S. imperialism in Latin America are continuing. Antipopular, tyrannical regimes are being maintained by U.S. money and weapons in El Salvador and Chile. Washington is spending funds lavishly to step up the struggle against national liberation movements in this region. At the same time it is exerting steadily increasing military pressure on socialist Cuba. Employing absolutely groundless pretexts, the United States is escalating tension around the Island of Freedom and is outright threatening it with "punitive actions." The United States is crudely meddling in the internal affairs of socialist Poland.

Recently the United States has been increasingly more extensively employing the methods of international terrorism and has been undertaking attempts to revive the "big stick" policy which has been rejected by peoples, only now in a nuclear version. In conformity with this policy the 200,000-man "rapid deployment forces" are being formed, and various combat equipment, including nuclear weapons, are being prepositioned to "forward basing points" both in Western Europe as well as in Asia and Africa. U.S. Government spokesmen make no secret of the fact that the United States is preparing for the employment of nuclear weapons in local wars.

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Intensification of the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism is manifested in the most concentrated form in imperialism's /military-strategic conceptions [ds]/. Clearly expressed in the "new nuclear strategy" proclaimed by Washington is the fact that the United States is counting primarily on a "preemptive," sneak nuclear attack on the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community. There is a great deal of talk across the ocean [i.e., in the United States] about the permissibility of a so-called "limited" nuclear war and the possibility of winning such a war, "having in a state of readiness a guaranteed destruction potential." They seek to instill in the population of the Western countries the idea of the acceptability of employing nuclear weapons and to dull the people's vigilance.

There can be no "limited" nuclear war. This, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, is an outright attempt to deceive peoples. If U.S. imperialism unleashes a nuclear war, in Europe, for example, such a war would at the very outset lead to irreplaceable losses and the most disastrous consequences for the countries situated there and to the annihilation of entire peoples and their civilization which has been in existence for many centuries. In addition, it would inevitably and irreversibly assume a worldwide character. This is why the calculations of those who hope to ignite a nuclear fire and limit it to the territory of the European continent, while themselves remaining at a safe distance from the flame, to make their allies the target of a devastating response strike, are both cynical and illusory. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes that "only a person who has decided to commit suicide could initiate a nuclear war in the hopes of winning it. No matter how much power the attacker possesses, no matter what mode of initiating nuclear war he selects, he will not achieve his objective. Retaliation will inevitably follow."⁴

In addition to elaboration of various versions of initiation and conduct of nuclear war, Washington specifies the possibility of a "protracted conventional war" in various parts of the world. Such a war, as the Pentagon strategists envisage it, by no means excludes the possibility of a nuclear war, but on the contrary serves as a kind of supplement to it. Top U.S. military officials have stated time and again that the United States should be prepared for the initiation and simultaneous conduct of large and so-called "small" wars in various parts of the world. The Pentagon, for example, is making plans for the conduct of a "small" war in the Persian Gulf region, specifying the employment both of conventional and nuclear weapons.

The content, character and thrust of the aggressive ideas and actions of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, show that imperialism, in pursuing its global aims, is in fact undermining détente and aggravating tension and confrontation. Fanciers of military adventures should not forget that the Soviet Union has adequate resources and means at its disposal to defend its vital interests against any and all encroachments. If it becomes necessary, the Soviet people, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, "will find the capability to undertake any additional efforts and to do everything necessary to ensure reliable defense of their country."⁵

The Soviet Union proceeds from the position that the basis for strengthening peace is retention of the already existing parity, gradual lessening of

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military confrontation, reduction of armed forces and arms, while guaranteeing equal security to all parties. It is insanity to figure on victory in the arms race, and even more so in a nuclear war. And it is a dangerous madness. We do not seek military superiority over the West. We seek only reliable security. And an approximate equality and parity is sufficient in order to guarantee this security. This is the inalterable approach of the USSR to this question. And the threadbare myth of a "Soviet military threat," which allegedly is forcing the West to engage in an intensive effort to arm itself, is utilized by imperialist propaganda as a smoke screen to conceal the aggressive aspirations of the United States and NATO. This has been convincingly demonstrated, for example, in a book entitled "Otkuda iskhodit ugroza miru" [Whence Comes the Threat to Peace], published in this country at the beginning of 1982. The myth of a "Soviet military threat" has been disseminated by those who profit on the arms race, for massive ideological preparation for aggression, in order to deceive the world community and to cool down the opposition by world public opinion against the militarist plans of the United States and NATO.

A high degree of vigilance toward the intrigues of the forces of international reaction and aggression is particularly essential today. These forces possess powerful modern offensive weapons, enormous economic, scientific-technological and military potential, and considerable manpower and natural resources. Their aggressive preparations and their wild military-strategic ideas and plans present a genuine threat to world peace.

The Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community place in opposition to this threat a policy of a firm and consistent struggle for peace and the security of peoples, for social progress, and continuous readiness effectively to repulse any aggression. They are doing everything possible to ensure peaceful conditions for building a new society and reliably to defend the achievements of socialism on earth. This is objectively in conformity with the root interests both of the Soviet people, the peoples of other socialist nations, and of all mankind.

2. The Nationwide Character of Defense of the Socialist Homeland

Defense of the socialist homeland is of a genuinely nationwide character in its content, goals and tasks. V. I. Lenin saw an inseparable link between defense of the socialist state and the root, vital interests of the broad worker masses as an inexhaustible source of the strength of the new system and the might of the army of a new, socialist type. "Never," he stated, "will defeat come to that people in which the majority of workers and peasants have perceived, felt and seen that they are defending their own, Soviet rule -- rule by the working people, that they are defending that cause the victory of which will guarantee to them and their children the opportunity to enjoy all the benefits of culture and all things created by man's labor."⁶

All the multifaceted activities of the Communist Party and the Soviet State pertaining to guaranteeing the security of the USSR, its allies and friends are constructed on the firm foundation of Leninist teaching on defense of the socialist homeland. Guided by this teaching, the CPSU is innovatively developing it applicable to concrete historical conditions.

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The nationwide character of defense of the socialist homeland is manifested especially fully in time of war, when the masses rise up to repulse aggression and rout the enemy. The actions of combat troops on the battle front and strenuous labor by working people on the home front to furnish the army with everything it needs merge into a single mighty stream of struggle by the entire people to achieve victory.

At the dawn of Soviet rule, in the incredibly complex and difficult conditions of foreign military intervention and civil war, the worker class and the broad masses of our country's working people, guided by the Bolshevik Party, showed the most serious attitude, as V. I. Lenin noted, toward defense of the Soviet Republic and unparalleled, truly great heroism. Assessing the results of this struggle, Vladimir Il'ich stressed: "...We drew an unprecedentedly large mass of people into a conscientious attitude toward the war and into active assistance of the war effort.... This was the basic reason why we ultimately defeated a powerful adversary."⁷

The Great Patriotic War constituted the most vivid embodiment of the totally national character of the defense of socialism. Our entire vast country became transformed into a unified military camp ranked solidly behind the Communist Party -- organizer and inspirer of the selfless struggle by the Soviet people on the battle front and on the home front. Soviet servicemen, receiving the undivided support of the people, courageously and skillfully smashed the hated foe. Their staunchness, self-sacrifice and courage infused new energy into those who were working wholeheartedly on the home front for the war effort, providing the Armed Forces with everything they needed to defeat the enemy. This was a patriotic feat unparalleled in history.

Our victories in wars against imperialist aggressors with their large armies, furnished with weapons and combat equipment which were the latest hardware at those times, demonstrated to the entire world the might and invincibility of the socialist societal and governmental system and the indisputable advantages of the socialist over the capitalist military organization. A world war today, if imperialism succeeds in unleashing such a war, will be an incomparably more severe test of the army and people than ever before in the past, and will be accompanied by an unprecedented exertion of all this country's material and spiritual resources. This demands advance and comprehensive preparation of the socialist state and the entire people to repel aggression.

The Soviet people understand this well. For them there is nothing more dear than freedom, independence and happiness for their native land. They are devoting their labor, energy, and talents to the job of increasing its wealth and fame. They view its defense as their own vital concern. Precisely for this reason the defense might of the socialist nation is invincible.

V. I. Lenin's statement that it is impossible to wage a modern war against imperialism without serious economic preparations is more valid today than ever before.⁸ The Communist Party and the Soviet State, organizing and guiding the productive activity of the toiler masses, concentrate their main effort on economic development, the highest aim of which is to achieve a steady improvement in the people's living standards. At the same time they

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devote unabating attention to strengthening national defense and do everything necessary to achieve full satisfaction of its requirements.

Successful accomplishment of defense tasks, which are constantly becoming more complex, is ensured by the powerful economic and scientific-technological potential which has been created in our country. Further developing and increasing this potential, Soviet citizens are achieving through their selfless labor a steady rise in living standards and a steady strengthening of the /material foundations/ of this country's defense capability and Armed Forces combat power.

Whatever area of building communism in which a Soviet citizen works, he contributes his share toward strengthening the might of the homeland and in one way or another participates in accomplishing the tasks connected with defense of the socialist homeland. Worker and kolkhoz farmer, engineer and technician, scientist and designer -- each and every citizen of the Soviet Union sees his own personal interests and destiny in inseparable unity with the interests and destiny of the homeland. All defense measures of the party and state rest on the unanimous support, on the inexhaustible initiative and productivity of the Soviet people.

The totally popular character of defense of the socialist homeland also finds expression in steady strengthening of the /sociopolitical foundations/ of the nation's defense capability and Armed Forces combat power. This is a logical result of the coalescence of the root interests and close cooperation on the part of all classes and social groups, all our country's nationalities and ethnic groups in a great cause -- the building of communism and defense of the socialist homeland. The entire Soviet people -- a new historical community of people -- today comprise the social foundation of the army and navy.

Defense of the socialist homeland is defined by our Constitution as the sacred duty of each and every citizen of the USSR. And Soviet citizens are carrying out this duty with dignity and honor. In conformity with the USSR Law on Universal Military Service Obligation, they are serving in the ranks of the Armed Forces, thus taking direct part in accomplishing the tasks of defending the socialist homeland. The workers of this country's cities and villages are actively participating in civil defense measures. The family, the school, work forces, trade unions, and other public organizations are making their contribution to the cause of defense of the socialist homeland.

Lenin Komsomol plays an enormous role in instilling excellent moral-political qualities in Soviet youth and in Armed Forces personnel. Its role is particularly important since young people comprise three-fourths of Armed Forces personnel. Under the guidance of Communists, Komsomol organizations participate daily in indoctrination of politically active servicemen who possess knowledge of military affairs, who are totally dedicated to the party and people, and who are ready at all times to defend the Soviet homeland.

USSR DOSAAF performs considerable mass-defense work. More than one-third of conscripts receive good training in its training organizations and study occupational specialties needed both for the Armed Forces and for the nation's

economy. DOSAAF is correctly called a preparatory classroom of that great school of life which consists of service in the ranks of the Armed Forces.

Further deepening of the totally popular character of defense of the socialist homeland is fostered by continuous strengthening of the /spiritual foundations/ of this country's defense capability and the combat power of the Armed Forces. Developed socialism ensures particularly favorable conditions for growth of the ideological maturity, expansion of the political outlook, and improvement in the overall level of culture and social activeness of Soviet citizens, including army and navy personnel.

The Soviet society, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, is a society of people of labor. Productive labor of initiative is increasingly being transformed into a primary necessity of life for every Soviet citizen. Military labor also provides wide opportunity for initiative. Our servicemen are working persistently to raise their ideological level, are mastering modern weapons and combat equipment, are becoming physically conditioned, and seek to achieve full and high-quality accomplishment of training schedules and curricula, as well as all tasks which the party and people assign the Armed Forces.

The monolithic sociopolitical and ideological unity of the Soviet people gives the Armed Forces invincible strength and constantly nourishes their unswerving dedication to the party, to the homeland, and to the high ideals of communism. An indissoluble community of interests, goals and ideals, a coalescence of patriotic and internationalist accomplishments of the workers of city and village and fighting men of the army and navy serve as a guarantee of further growth of the fighting strength and combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces and a guarantee of reliable defense of the achievements of socialism and peace.

3. CPSU Guidance -- Basic Foundation of Soviet Military Organizational Development

Concern by all the people for strengthening national defense, improving the Armed Forces, and securing peaceful conditions for building communism is expressed in the policy of the Communist Party and in its daily guidance of military organizational development. The party elaborates military, including military-technical, policy and military doctrine, guides the daily life and activities of the army and navy, and directs the development of Soviet military science and art of warfare, training and indoctrination of military cadres and all personnel, and work aimed at increasing the combat readiness of the Armed Forces, at development of their internationalist ties with the armies of the brother socialist nations, and strengthening of the fighting alliance.

The party organizes and directs military organizational development in a close unity and interlink with accomplishment of political, economic, social, and ideological tasks. V. I. Lenin pointed to the exceptional importance of this interrelationship. He stressed that the organizational development of our army was able to lead to successful results only because it was carried out in a spirit of the overall building of a Soviet society.⁹

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The thesis of the party's leadership role in strengthening the nation's defense capability, in development and improvement of the military organization of the socialist society was formulated on the initiative of V. I. Lenin in a party Central Committee decree dated 25 December 1918. "...The policy of the war ministry, just as that of all other government agencies and establishments," the decree stated, "is conducted on the precise foundation of the general directives issued by the party in the person of its Central Committee and under its immediate supervision."¹⁰ This thesis was formally stated in the CPSU Program, where it was stressed that "Communist Party guidance of the Armed Forces and strengthening of the role and influence of party organizations in the army and navy constitutes the fundamental basis of military organizational development."¹¹

Party guidance of military organizational development encompasses all areas involving strengthening this country's defense capability and increasing the combat readiness of the Armed Forces. /Elaboration of military policy/ is the most important of these. This process is based on continuous, comprehensive analysis, objective appraisal and correct consideration of the world military-political situation, the specific features and trends of this country's socio-economic development. V. I. Lenin pointed to the enormous importance of concrete analysis of a concrete situation.¹²

Soviet military policy is a component part of all policy of the party and state. A high degree of policy effectiveness is achieved through unity of political, economic, and military leadership. It is permeated by the ideas of Leninist teaching on defense of the socialist homeland, by a spirit of proletarian, socialist internationalism, and is inseparably linked with consistent implementation by the CPSU of a peace-seeking course of policy in the international arena. "Fidelity to the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence with other countries," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "is determined by the very character of our society. Precisely for this reason there are no advocates of war, aggression, and adventurism in policy in this country, nor will there be such advocates."¹³

The just goals of our peace-seeking course of policy in the international arena is also reflected in /Soviet military doctrine./ Its content covers the tasks of defending socialist achievements, the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the USSR, and the security of our friends and allies. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated this with extreme clarity in an interview for the magazine DER SPIEGEL. "The Soviet Union," he stressed, "threatens nobody and has no intention of attacking anybody. Our military doctrine is also of a defensive nature. It excludes preventive [preventivnyye] wars and the concept of 'first strike' [pervogo udara]."¹⁴

Attempting to distort the essence of Soviet military doctrine, Western politicians and strategists ascribe expansionist features to it. The malevolence of such assertions is obvious. The thrust of military doctrine depends entirely on the class nature of the state and its policies. Aggressive, expansionist aims are alien to the Soviet socialist state. Its foreign policy is a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation among peoples. The defensive thrust of Soviet military doctrine also proceeds inalterably from it.

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The USSR always has been and remains an opponent of the concepts of the so-called "first disarming strike" [pervogo obezoruzhivayushchego udara], "limited" nuclear war, just as any other nuclear war, and similar concepts. Our country's efforts are aimed at preventing both a first and any other strike, at preventing nuclear war, at eliminating the very threat of occurrence of such a war.

/Daily organizational work/ occupies a most important place in Communist Party activities pertaining to guiding military organizational development. It encompasses questions pertaining to development and strengthening of the material and spiritual foundations of the defense capability of the Soviet State and increasing the fighting power and combat readiness of its Armed Forces. The CPSU directs the work of government agencies, public organizations and officials connected with ensuring this country's security and strengthening its defense capability. It guides the training, correct selection and placement of command, political and engineer-technician cadres in the army and navy and mobilizes all personnel for capable utilization of the material-technical foundation of the Armed Forces and allocated resources in the interests of a steady increase in combat readiness.

The party devotes constant attention to improving party-political work in the army and navy and to comprehensive indoctrination of Soviet servicemen. It demands of military cadres thorough study of the experience of the Great Patriotic War and innovative assimilation of this experience. Further comprehensive development of cooperation in the area of defense with the brother socialist countries is an object of unrelenting CPSU concern.

/The importance of party direction of military organizational development is steadily increasing/ in present-day conditions. This is dictated by a number of factors.

The primary point here is the /increasing complexity of tasks [ds]/ connected with organizing defense of the socialist homeland in an era of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons. "...The nature of modern weapons," emphasizes Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "has become such that if they are put into play, the future of all mankind would be the stakes of the game."¹⁵ Never before has the task of preventing war, restraining aggressors, and preserving peace been so acute. And never before has the CPSU as ruling party had such enormous responsibility for ensuring our country's security, for guaranteeing conditions of peace for building communism, and for defense of the achievements of socialism and peace.

Enhancement of the role of party direction of military organizational development is also caused by /qualitative changes taking place in the status of the Armed Forces and military affairs as a whole [ds]/. In conditions of rapid development of science and technology, more and more new tasks are arising which pertain to technical equipment of the army and navy, and consequently to the development, manufacture, delivery and deployment of modern weapons. This in turn demands elaboration of new forms and modes of military operations, continuous improvement in the organizational structure of the Armed Forces and the system of training, as well as development of military scientific thought.

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And the party, as the guiding and directing force of society, organizes accomplishment of these tasks, enlisting the requisite manpower and resources.

Enhancement of the role of party direction of military organizational development has also been evoked by the increased significance of the /moral-political factor [ds]/ in war. A contemporary war, especially a nuclear missile war, if the imperialists unleash such a war, will radically alter the people's entire tenor of life and will be accompanied by psychological stresses of unprecedented magnitude. The enormous scope, ferocity and acuteness of military operations will demand of Armed Forces personnel and of the entire people the greatest physical and moral exertion. In these conditions the Communist Party, as always, will constitute that cementing and mobilizing force which forms the foundation of the unbending staunchness of the masses and their will to defeat the aggressor decisively. By its consistent, purposeful ideological and political indoctrination work, the party continuously forms in Soviet citizens excellent moral-political qualities, the willingness and capability to surmount the immense burdens and deprivations of war and fully to carry out their duty to defend the socialist homeland.

The role of party direction of military organizational development is also increasing as a consequence of broadening of the /internationalist tasks [ds]/ of the Soviet State and its Armed Forces pertaining to defense of the achievements of socialism. The magnitude of these tasks and the scale of work pertaining to coordinating with the other nations of the socialist community joint economic, political and military efforts have increased substantially and are continuing to grow. Increasing attention is demanded by questions connected with elaboration of common views on the character of today's war, the modes of its conduct, on the organizational principles of armed forces organizational development and improvement, and on the content, forms and methods of training and indoctrinating personnel. A most important role in successfully resolving all these and many other questions is played by our party's vast revolutionary experience and great international prestige, as well as its consistent Leninist internationalist position, which enjoys the approval and support of all brother parties.

Exercising daily supervision of the process of strengthening this country's defense, army and navy daily life and activities, the CPSU takes all these factors into account and continuously improves its political, theoretical, and organizational work. There is no element or area in military organizational development in which is not felt the constant beneficial influence of the party, its Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mar SU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the USSR Defense Council. Lenin's ideas on defense of the socialist homeland receive further innovative development and practical embodiment, and current problems of military organizational development receive thorough and detailed elaboration in his writings and speeches, in his exceptionally fruitful activities in the area of leading the party and nation.

L. I. Brezhnev is making a large contribution toward development of teaching on the leadership role of the Communist Party, including in the area of defense,

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in conditions where genuine socialism has emerged beyond the framework of a single country and a fundamentally new correlation of class forces has been created in the world arena. "Experience indicates," emphasizes Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "that the victory of a socialist system in a given country can in today's conditions be viewed as final and the restoration of capitalism can be considered out of the question only if the Communist Party, as the guiding force of society, firmly implements Marxist-Leninist policy in development of all the domains of societal affairs; only if the party tirelessly strengthens national defense and defense of the country's revolutionary achievements, if it retains and instills among the people vigilance toward the class enemy and implacability toward bourgeois ideology; only if the principle of socialist internationalism is faithfully observed and the unity and fraternal solidarity with the other socialist countries are strengthened."¹⁶

The outstanding victories of the Soviet Armed Forces over the enemies of the socialist homeland and today's qualitative state of the army and navy graphically and persuasively confirm the decisive significance of CPSU guidance over military organizational development. This wise guidance is a reliable guarantee of the invincible defense might of the Soviet Union, a continuous high state of Armed Forces fighting efficiency and combat readiness.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 37, page 122.
2. Ibid., Vol 40, page 248; Vol 44, page 300.
3. PRAVDA, 4 February 1982.
4. PRAVDA, 21 October 1981.
5. PRAVDA, 3 November 1981.
6. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 38, page 315.
7. Ibid., Vol 42, page 140.
8. Ibid., Vol 35, page 390.
9. Ibid., Vol 40, pp 76-77.
10. "KPSS o Vooruzhennykh Silakh Sovetskogo Soyuz: dokumenty 1917-1981" [The CPSU on the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union: Documents, 1917-1981], Moscow, 1981, page 42.
11. "Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz" [Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Moscow, 1976, page 112.
12. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 41, page 146.

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13. PRAVDA, 20 December 1981.
14. PRAVDA, 3 November 1981
15. PRAVDA, 24 June 1981.
16. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [Following a Leninist Course], Vol 2, pp 329-330.

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Chapter Three. GUARDING PEACEFUL LABOR

1. Armed Forces of the Socialist State of All the People

Our Armed Forces have a glorious, truly heroic biography. It was created by all the generations of defenders of the socialist homeland -- from the Red Guard of 1917 to our servicemen of the 1980's. And to whatever page in this biography we turn, each vividly attests to the steadfast dedication on the part of Soviet fighting men to the people, the homeland, and to the great cause of the party -- the cause of communism.

In the unparalleled ordeals of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, in selfless military labor in wartime and in time of peace, the Armed Forces have honorably justified their mission which consists, to quote V. I. Lenin, in "guarding the achievements of the revolution, our people's rule... the entire new, truly democratic system against all enemies...."¹

In this lofty mission is to be found the root, fundamental difference between the Soviet Armed Forces and the armies of exploiter states, which are anti-popular in their class essence and political function. The apologists of imperialism attempt to present bourgeois armies as supraclass agencies, which allegedly stand "beyond politics" and serve "the entire nation." V. I. Lenin called such claims vulgar, hypocritical, lying doctrine. This doctrine is especially convenient for concealing the attempt on the part of the monopoly bourgeoisie to use the army as its obedient instrument for achieving anti-popular, aggressive aims.

In contrast to the bourgeois army, which by virtue of its class nature and function is separated from the people and is in opposition to the worker masses, the armed forces of the socialist state are an integral part of the people, sharing a common life, common concerns and interests. Their development and improvement take place in a common channel with the development and improvement of the entire system of socialist societal relations.

In the course of building a new society in our country, improving socialist democracy and organization of the state, the Soviet Armed Forces were transformed from an agency of a state of dictatorship of the proletariat into an agency of a state of all the people. The need for the Soviet Armed Forces is dictated by the existence of a military danger emanating from imperialist

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circles, while military might is directed exclusively toward defending against aggressors the peaceful, productive labor of the Soviet people and the great socialist achievements. Our Armed Forces are carrying out their great mission shoulder to shoulder with the armies of the other nations of the socialist community.

In conditions of a sharp aggravation of the international situation, the role and responsibility of the Soviet Armed Forces for guaranteeing the security of the USSR, our friends and allies, and preserving world peace are greater than ever before. The increased aggressiveness of imperialism and increased military preparations by the United States and NATO, directed against the USSR and the other socialist countries, demand that the Soviet Armed Forces be maintained in a high state of combat readiness **and that their technical** equipment, organizational structure, forms and methods of training, instruction and indoctrination of servicemen be improved.

The present stage of development of the Armed Forces is marked by a further improvement of qualitative indices in personnel mastery of weapons and combat equipment, by a steady improvement in field, air and sea proficiency, and by strengthening of organization and discipline. The combat teamwork of combined units, units, and warships is improving.

Excellent sociopolitical features characteristic of the Soviet Armed Forces, particularly /firm sociopolitical cohesion/, are expressed in the daily practical activities and patriotic deeds of servicemen.

All Soviet servicemen -- from private to marshal -- are representatives of our society's amicable classes and social groups. They are united by a community of social-class interests, a scientific, materialist ideology, and Communist morality. The beautiful word "comrade," without which intercourse between Soviet citizens wearing shoulderboards would be inconceivable, serves as an embodiment of the fighting unity of the men of our Armed Forces. More than 90 percent of officers, warrant officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted personnel are Communists or Komsomol members. All Soviet servicemen see one another as loyal fighting comrades, performing shoulder to shoulder the sacred duty of defending the socialist homeland.

The deepening process of development of a classless structure of our developed socialist society gives particular firmness to military collectives. Logically reflected in development of the Armed Forces, it fills military discipline with vital force, ensures great effectiveness of the principle of one-man command, and fosters achievement of coordination and unity of will and actions on the part of all personnel in the interests of effective accomplishment of the tasks facing the army and navy. The commander's order is perceived by subordinates as a command of the homeland. Precise and unquestioning execution of an order is fully in conformity with the inner convictions of servicemen.

The solid sociopolitical unity of Soviet servicemen determines their conscientious attitude toward patriotic and internationalist duty and serves as one of the inexhaustible sources of selfless execution of any and all missions on the battlefield, even the most difficult.

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Our Armed Forces are today, just as the party foresaw at its 8th Congress, "an army /of all the people [it.]/ [obshchenarodnoy; also translates as "totally popular" or "nationwide"] in the true sense of the word..."² This is expressed in their social-class and ethnic structure, in a vital, undivided unity with the people. Performance by the Armed Forces of their assigned tasks pertaining to defending the socialist homeland is an essential and important element of the nationwide cause of building communism.

Direct participation by military personnel in the political, societal and economic activities of the people is also assuming increasingly more diversified forms. Military personnel are elected to party and soviet bodies and carry out their duties in a worthy manner. Representatives of the Armed Forces are doing a fine job in public organizations and unions of creative artists.

Considerable housing and large numbers of buildings used for social and cultural-services facilities are erected by military construction workers. A number of important projects for the economy have been constructed with their participation, and they have helped build thousands of kilometers of hard-surface roads. Railway troops are involved in construction of a number of rail lines and are working in the eastern section of the Baikal-Amur Mainline. Soviet military personnel make an active contribution toward harvesting our nation's crops and performing other tasks for the nation's economy.

They play an important role in our country's sports activities. Just in the most recent winter and summer Olympics, army and navy athletes, competing as members of USSR national teams, have won 45 gold, 47 silver, and 29 bronze medals.

Diversified patron relationships between work forces and military units constitute stirring evidence of the close unity between people and army. Mutual visits, performing arts get-togethers, reports on labor achievements and fulfillment of socialist pledges, joint recreation evenings, exchange of amateur talent concerts, plus other measures have firmly become a part of their daily practical activities.

Maneuvers and exercises conducted in the Armed Forces become vivid demonstrations of the close unity between the people and the army. The "Zapad-81" [West-81] exercise, for example, was accompanied by numerous manifestations of affection and respect on the part of Soviet workers toward their armed defenders. Everywhere the troops and naval forces performed, the public greeted them with great cordiality and warmth and surrounded them with concern and attention.

Such an outstanding feature of the Soviet Armed Forces as the /fraternal friendship among servicemen of different nationalities/ is also becoming increasingly more conspicuous in conditions of developed socialism. The sons of all Soviet brother peoples are living, serving, and carrying out responsible tasks pertaining to defense of the socialist homeland side by side in army and navy units. "Our army," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "is also a special army in the sense that it is a school of internationalism, a school of indoctrination

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of feelings of brotherhood, solidarity and mutual respect of all nationalities and ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. Our Armed Forces are a united, harmonious family, living embodiment of socialist internationalism."³

Strong patriotic feelings are characteristic of army and navy personnel, just as they are of all Soviet citizens -- feelings of general national pride, which impel them sacredly to preserve the honor and dignity of the armed defender of the socialist homeland and irreproachably to carry out their military duty.

/Communist ideological content, political maturity, and discipline on the part of servicemen/ -- qualities which comprise one of the most important traits of the Armed Forces -- are being manifested increasingly more fully. It reflects the ideological-political conviction, moral strength and spiritual wealth of the Soviet people. Its sources lie in the socialist societal system, in Marxist-Leninist ideology and CPSU policy, and in our Soviet way of life.

The Soviet serviceman is indoctrinated by the party in lofty revolutionary ideals and in the traditions of selfless and wholehearted service to the socialist homeland, patriotism and internationalism. Our country's working people, the peoples of the brother socialist countries, and all honest people throughout the world see in him a person with a high sense of duty and outstanding moral qualities. The Soviet serviceman possesses a broad political outlook, professional skill, an unbending will to beat the enemy in combat, a high degree of organization and discipline, and an initiative-filled, innovative approach to carrying out his assigned tasks. Communist moral fiber, genuine humanism, selflessness and courage, and willingness to accomplish deeds for the sake of the homeland are united in his countenance.

Describing today's servicemen at the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted: "Today the sons and grandsons of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War stand in the ranks of defenders of the homeland. They have not experienced the harsh ordeals which fell to the lot of their fathers and grandfathers, but they are faithful to the heroic traditions of our army and our people. And whenever the interests of national security and the defense of peace demand it, when it is necessary to help victims of aggression, the Soviet serviceman appears before the world as a selfless and courageous patriot and internationalist, prepared to surmount any and all difficulties."⁴

Implementation of the party's policy line directed toward comprehensive, harmonious development of the individual Soviet citizen and a steady improvement in the people's living standards and cultural level also has the most beneficial effect on the Armed Forces. The high overall level of preparation of the young people who enter the army and navy enables them quickly to master the complex weapons and combat equipment, to learn the "secrets" of military expertise, to grow intellectually and to develop physically.

The importance of the /beneficial indoctrinational role of the Soviet Armed Forces/ is increasing in present-day conditions. This role is a distinctive feature precisely of a socialist army, which serves the people, the ideas of freedom, justice and humanism, and defends the interests of the working people, the cause of peace and social progress. This also defines the content and thrust of all personnel training. Our Armed Forces are deservedly called

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a school of political, combat and moral indoctrination, a school of courage, industriousness, collectivism, organization, and discipline.

The Communist Party and Soviet people highly value the indoctrinational role of the Armed Forces. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has spoken of it repeatedly with great warmth. Such an appraisal places great responsibility on commanders, staffs and political agencies, army and navy party and Komsomol organizations, and on all Soviet servicemen. They are called upon tirelessly to be concerned with further increasing the indoctrinational role of the Soviet Armed Forces. This demand proceeds directly from the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work" and from the proceedings and decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The necessity and importance of a steady increase in the indoctrinational role of the Armed Forces are dictated by many objective and subjective factors, and particularly by the increase in complexity of the tasks performed by the army and navy and the increased demands on their combat readiness.

The significance of the indoctrinational effect of military service is determined by the fact that it comprises an important stage in the life of practically every one of our young men. This stage coincides with the period of the most intensive forming of the individual, one's civic and social development. And how many noncommissioned officers and enlisted personnel, upon being discharged into the reserves, retain for their entire lives the fine qualities acquired in the army and navy and invariably remember with gratitude the school of military service!

A great deal of experience in indoctrination work has been amassed in the Armed Forces. It indicates that an essential condition for success in this work is thoughtful and profound analysis and consideration of new phenomena and processes taking place in military affairs and changes in the technical equipment of troops and naval forces, in personnel, in the content and character of military labor. Strengthening of the material foundation, improvement of the training and indoctrination process, and increased skill and pedagogic expertise on the part of command, political and engineer-technician personnel make it possible continuously to improve the forms and methods of ideological and political indoctrination work. It is important skillfully to utilize the indoctrinational possibilities of drills and exercises, flight operations and naval cruises, missile launchings, and alert duty. All these combat training activities produce the greatest results if they take place in a situation maximally approximating actual combat. One must always bear in mind the well-known truth that it is impossible to teach without indoctrinating, just as it is impossible to indoctrinate without teaching.

Of course the indoctrinational role of the Armed Forces is carried out not only within the framework of military service. The army and navy exert considerable forming and shaping influence on the younger generation and on preinduction youth. They make a substantial contribution toward the military-patriotic indoctrination of our country's entire population. Military personnel take active part in publicizing heroic fighting traditions, in instilling in working people pride in the glorious past of our socialist homeland and the Soviet

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Armed Forces, and in forming a high degree of vigilance toward the intrigues of the imperialist aggressors. Commanders, political agencies, army and navy party and Komsomol organizations greatly assist local party and soviet agencies, Komsomol committees, and DOSAAF organizations in preparing for and holding All-Union "Zarnitsa" [Summer Lightning] and "Orlenok" [Eaglet] military sports games, in youth excursions to sites of revolutionary, combat and labor glory of the Soviet people, and in the activities of the mass network of technical, marksmanship and other study groups and sections.

Of course we have not examined here all the sociopolitical features of the Soviet Armed Forces, but only those in which are most clearly revealed their historic function, socialist nature, and totally popular character.

The entire life, work and aspirations of army and navy personnel are inseparable from the life and activities, the thoughts and goals of the entire Soviet people. Strong by their fighting revolutionary spirit, unwavering Communist conviction, and close solidarity behind the party, they are selflessly and dedicatedly carrying out their sacred duty to the homeland.

2. Apace With Scientific and Technological Advances

V. I. Lenin viewed interlinked strengthening of the material and spiritual aspects of the socialist military organizations to be an essential condition for ensuring reliable national defense and a high degree of Armed Forces fighting strength and combat readiness. "The very finest army and people who are the most dedicated to the cause of the revolution," stated Vladimir Il'ich, "will be immediately annihilated by the enemy if they are inadequately armed, supplied with provisions, and trained."⁵

The character of military operations, the scale, modes and forms of battles and operations and, in the final analysis, success in accomplishing the missions facing the Armed Forces are determined to an enormous degree by the weapons and combat equipment they possess, by how well provided they are in a material-technical respect. Aware of this fact, the Communist Party and the Soviet people, carrying out Lenin's behests, are tirelessly concerned to ensure that our army and navy develop apace with modern scientific and technological advances. Unquestionably implementation of the economic plans specified at the 26th CPSU Congress will also foster improved technical equipment of the Armed Forces.

We feel that it is of fundamental importance to emphasize in this connection the following circumstance. The class essence and the goals of utilization of scientific and technological advances in military organizational development proceed from the socioeconomic system of the state and its policy. They are diametrically opposite in socialist and imperialist countries.

Inherent in imperialism is a tendency toward a steady growth in the influence of the military-industrial complex and stepped-up militarization of all aspects of life and activities in the bourgeois society -- the domestic and foreign policy of the ruling class, bourgeois ideology, science, and culture. The finest achievements of man's genius are subordinated in imperialist

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nations to the antipopular interests of the monopolies, which are endeavoring to preserve capitalism at all costs and, consequently, to retain the capability to exploit the working people within their own country and the peoples of other countries. The imperialists view military force as the main instrument for securing these interests. While relying on military force, they also pursue a policy of dictate, oppression, and unceremonious interference in the affairs of other nations and peoples. The arms race, which is being escalated by imperialism, promotes an increase in this military force. The monopolies increase their profits by constantly manufacturing new weapons. In order that these profits not decline, they do everything they can to escalate international tension.

In the capitalist countries, particularly the United States, militarism almost totally dominates science. The latest advances in science and technology are invariably turned against the working people, against the cause of peace and social progress.

Socialism, a new societal system, placed scientific and technological achievements in the service of the people for the first time in history. In the military it utilizes these advances in the interests of preventing unjust, predatory wars, in the aim of restraining aggressors. In the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community there are no classes, social strata and groups interested in war. Socialism by its very nature is devoted to peace and places the working man and constant concern for his welfare and happiness at the focal point of all the affairs of society.

Our dedication to the cause of peace is consistent and unwavering. It not only does not exclude but on the contrary presupposes a most attentive attitude toward national defense. We are strengthening our defense might precisely in order to ensure peaceful conditions for building communism. The character of development of events in the world arena, the specific features and trends in the international military-political situation are comprehensively taken into account thereby. In present-day conditions, when the aggressive preparations of imperialism have become sharply intensified and calculations of achieving military technological superiority over the USSR are becoming increasingly more clearly evident in U.S. strategic plans, we are compelled to maintain the level of equipment of our Armed Forces adequate to ensure that they cannot achieve superiority over us.

Proceeding from a profound and realistic analysis of the international situation and taking into account the state and development prospects of military affairs, the Communist Party, on the basis of the socioeconomic and scientific-technical achievements and capabilities of the Soviet society, is elaborating and implementing a policy of technical equipment of the army and navy which ensures practical and balanced development of all types of weapons. Emphasis is placed on those weapons which play a determining role in increasing the readiness of the Armed Forces to repel potential aggression. The CPSU guides the activities of scientific organizations and industry and concentrates their efforts on the most promising problems, solution of which, simultaneously with accomplishment of pressing economic tasks, promotes strengthening of national defense.

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The Soviet Union possesses experienced scientific cadres and an elaborate network of scientific research establishments in all branches of knowledge. Our industry is capable of turning out the most complex products, including all types of the most advanced weapons. Possessing great capabilities to develop and manufacture modern military equipment, the USSR is compelled to take necessary measures to guarantee its own security and that of its allies in the face of a buildup of military potential by the United States and its NATO partners. It would not, however, like to enter competition in this area with anybody. Our position on this matter has been clarified repeatedly in documents of the Communist Party and Soviet Government, in the writings and speeches of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. "We are not attracted to the idea of peace based on mutual deterrence [ustrashenii]," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "We prefer a peace whereby arms levels become smaller and smaller, while the scope and quality of cooperation in all areas grow and improve."⁶

U.S. imperialist circles are counting primarily /on strategic nuclear weapons/ in their attempts to achieve military technological superiority over us. When the United States had a monopoly on nuclear arms, they were counting on utilizing them to blackmail peoples and nations, to maintain an "order" in the world to the liking of Washington, and to "hurl back" socialism.

The Soviet Union was faced with the necessity of bringing this extremely dangerous U.S. monopoly to an end as quickly as possible. We too developed nuclear weapons. As history has shown, this was a correct, farsighted step. Nuclear weapons became a mighty shield which provided security for the USSR, its national interests, and the interests of the brother socialist nations. At the same time it dampened the ardor of the imperialist warmongers who, following the barbaric bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, time and again threatened the world with the atomic bomb. If there had been no such weapon in our arsenal, it is possible that aggressive imperialist circles would have long ago plunged the world into the abyss of nuclear war.

We have never sought and do not now seek superiority in nuclear weapons; we consistently advocate limitation and the total banning of such weapons. Only extraordinary circumstances -- outright nuclear aggression against the Soviet State or its allies -- could force us to resort to a response nuclear strike as an extreme means of self-defense.

Endeavoring to prevent another war, we are doing everything possible to prevent aggressive imperialist circles from achieving superiority over the USSR in /conventional weaponry/ as well. The performance characteristics of our tanks, artillery systems, mortars, fixed-wing and rotary-wing aircraft, warships, other weapons and combat equipment are improving. Their capabilities are increasing, as are their power, range and accuracy, maneuverability, reliability and survivability. Fire control and control of maneuver are becoming automated. All this increases weapon efficiency and reliability of hitting ground, air, and sea targets.

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The present level of science and technology makes it possible to resolve problems of further qualitative improvement of weapons. But employment, servicing and maintenance of new weapons are considerably more complicated, and they impose greater demands on personnel training. They are also leading to substantial organizational changes in troops and naval forces. Therefore a statement by V. I. Lenin rings particularly true today, that "it is impossible to build a modern army without science...."7 And while our science as a whole is increasingly becoming a direct productive force, /Soviet military science/ is more and more becoming one of the major factors in improving the Armed Forces.

There is no doubt whatsoever that no matter how complex a contemporary war may be, no matter how dynamic, diversified, and sometimes conflictive the course of such a war, the development of military actions is determined in the final analysis by objective [ob'yektivnymi] laws. Soviet military science is working on studying these laws and seeking ways to utilize them in a skillful manner. The correctness of its fundamental theses and its indisputable superiority over bourgeois military science are convincingly confirmed by the entire heroic history of our Armed Forces.

Marxism-Leninism constitutes a solid ideological-theoretical and methodological foundation of Soviet military science. It provides a correct understanding of the essence, character and features of wars and military organizational development [voyennogo stroitel'stva], problems of preparing for and conducting combat operations, and serves as an accurate compass in solving other pressing problems of military affairs and in determining the main directions of further development of our military theory and practice. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is making a large contribution to Soviet military science.

The 26th CPSU Congress gave a new creative impulse to Soviet military science. Guided by its decisions, our cadres are developing military science in conformity with the demands of strengthening national defense and improving the Armed Forces, and with their practical tasks. They concentrate main attention on thorough cognition of the essence of the most important and significant phenomena in the military domain and on broad scientific synthesis and innovative utilization of our vast combat experience.

Much has been accomplished here, but still more remains to be done. The increasing complexity of the processes taking place both in societal development as a whole and in military affairs demands of Soviet military science increasingly deeper penetration into the character and features of contemporary war, elucidation of the mechanism of manifestation of its laws, continuous and comprehensive analysis of the mechanisms and trends of arms development and modes of conduct of military operations. The importance of prompt elaboration of scientifically substantiated ways of accomplishing strategic, operational and tactical missions is increasing, as is the importance of thorough analysis and synthesis of advanced know-how and shortening the time required for adopting it into the practical activities of combat and operational training of troops and naval forces.

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The essence of the processes taking place in military affairs cannot be comprehended without a thorough study of the experience of past wars. Without this it is also impossible correctly to predict the future and to elucidate the specific features of a war with the employment not only of existing but also of future military equipment. It is no less important continuously to study the development of military affairs abroad and to analyze changes taking place in the armies of the imperialist nations.

Practical realities demand a steady strengthening, persistent development and deepening of the interrelationship between military science and the social, natural and technical sciences. Military science should constantly be enriched with the most effective methods of investigation and advances made in other sciences. Still one of its most important tasks is the search for ways and means of increasing the fighting strength and combat readiness of the armed forces as an essential condition for reliable defense of the socialist homeland.

The Leninist thesis that the viewpoint of practical realities should be the first and principal point of view of the theory of knowledge is widely known. Genuine science is based only on objective data, fortified by precise experiment, by practical realities, on rigorous practical testing of scientific conclusions. Subjectivism, conceit, and complacency are alien to it.

Purposeful utilization of scientific and technological advances also greatly influences /Soviet art of warfare [voyennoye iskusstvo]/. An increase in the spatial scope of battles and operations and their more highly dynamic nature place on the agenda the necessity of elaborating and mastering new modes of conduct of military operations which correspond to the contemporary level of arms development. Accomplishment of this task is becoming no less important than the development and manufacture of new weapons and combat equipment, furnishing them to the troops and naval forces, and mastery of this hardware by personnel.

Art of warfare corresponds to its purpose only when it reflects the combat capabilities of troops and naval forces. Their training in turn should meet the demands of the art of warfare, its theses and conclusions. Success is ensured by a unity of theory and practice. In the final analysis it is precisely this which determines Armed Forces organizational development and training.

Development of the art of warfare constitutes a continuous and complex process, encompassing all its parts -- strategy, operational art, and tactics. The scope of /strategy [ds]/ is increasing, and the content of its tasks is becoming more complex. Weapons have become more powerful, and there has been an increase in the role of strategic leadership [strategicheskogo rukovodstva] in Armed Forces training and control. The framework of operational art [operativnogo iskusstva] is expanding. New principles of conduct of combat operations, connected with improvement of military equipment, are advancing to the forefront in operational art. Substantial qualitative changes are also taking place in /tactics [ds]/. New weapons are making it possible to achieve reliable delivery of fire on the enemy, permit continuity of attack, the

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element of surprise and swiftness of attack, continuous combination of fire and maneuver, and a high degree of stability and aggressiveness of defense.

All component parts of the art of warfare are in a dialectical unity. Their interlinked development is an indispensable condition for successfully accomplishing the diversified and complex tasks of Armed Forces organizational development and training.

In our Armed Forces development of military science and the art of warfare is the business not only of top-echelon army and navy personnel and military scientists. At practically all levels of the army and navy organism, officers are displaying growing interest in military theoretical knowledge and scientific methods of investigation, and are conducting an innovative search for the most effective forms and methods of mastering modern weapons, maximum utilization of their capabilities, and optimal modes of conduct of combat operations. Further improvement in the performance results of this work is promoted by a rise in the level of military-theoretical and professional-technical training of officer cadres and all personnel. In an organic combination with the continuous improvement of technical equipment of the army and navy, it helps steadily increase the combat readiness of the Armed Forces and strengthen this country's defense capability.

3. Shoulder to Shoulder With the Brother Armies

The USSR Armed Forces are performing their great historic mission to defend the achievements of socialism, the cause of peace and social progress together with the armies of the other nations of the socialist community. A socio-political trait which has been characteristic of our Armed Forces from the very first days of their existence -- /consistent internationalism [posledovatel'-nyy internatsionalizm]/ -- is manifested persuasively and vividly in daily training and performance of duty, and in joint accomplishment of missions pertaining to guaranteeing the security of the brother peoples and countries. It is given particular force by the fact that it is organically merged with ardent Soviet patriotism. Wherever a Soviet serviceman may be stationed beyond the borders of the homeland, wherever he may be called upon to perform his duty -- in a group of forces temporarily stationed on the territory of a brother nation, on board a warship crossing the expanses of the World Ocean and paying friendly visits to foreign ports -- in all places and at all times he is aware that he is a representative of the Land of Soviets, and he carries high the honor and dignity of a citizen of the USSR.

The Warsaw Pact Organization has for more than a quarter of a century now served as an embodiment of proletarian, socialist internationalism in action. Embodied in this organization and receiving further development are Leninist ideas about the objective necessity of a close economic, political and military alliance of the socialist countries and on mandatory consolidation of their economic, sociopolitical and military capabilities in order to achieve reliable collective defense of the revolutionary achievements of working people.

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The Warsaw Pact Organization differs radically in goals, tasks and character from imperialist blocs, which are intended for aggressive, predatory wars, for the struggle against socialism, against national liberation movements, against peace and social progress. The Warsaw Pact Organization is specifically a defense organization established to protect socialist achievements from the aggressive encroachments of imperialism. Characteristic of the military blocs of imperialist nations, particularly NATO, are an unequal position of the members, domination of the strong over the weak, and an endeavor by certain nations to secure their own selfish interests at the expense of others. Fundamental in the Warsaw Pact is the principle of sovereignty of the member nations. This is clearly expressed both in the structure of the Warsaw Pact Organization and in the composition, authorities and procedure of actions by its main political body -- the Political Consultative Committee.

Being a voluntary military-political alliance of free and equal nations, the Warsaw Pact reliably guarantees their sovereignty and security. This is why all the brother parties and peoples view its strengthening and development as a vital necessity, as their internationalist duty. Carrying out this duty consistently and unswervingly, the socialist nations bear in mind the fact that imperialism is continuously increasing the might of its military machine. They must take cognizance of the radical changes which have taken place in the character of modern war and the fact that the imperialist aggressors are counting on delivering a sneak attack.

Opposing the aggressive preparations of imperialism with a high degree of vigilance and constant readiness to repel an attack, the Warsaw Pact countries maintain at the requisite level the combat power of the Joint Armed Forces. This power is based on the economic and spiritual potential of the socialist community and serves as an insurmountable barrier in the path of implementation of the aggressive plans of imperialism, which carry a threat to world peace.

The goals of military-political cooperation by the brother countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact are noble. "We established this alliance," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "primarily for the purpose of opposing the threat of imperialism and the aggressive military blocs it has established, in order to defend the cause of socialism and peace through common efforts."⁸ The 26th CPSU Congress highly praised the activities of the Warsaw Pact Organization, stressing that the military-political defensive alliance of socialist countries is faithfully serving the cause of peace and possesses everything necessary in order reliably to defend the socialist achievements of peoples.

The Warsaw Pact Organization is based on /a commonality of economic and sociopolitical system, ideology and morality, the root interests and goals of the brother socialist nations./ The brother Communist and worker parties comprise the heart of their indissoluble alliance, figuratively speaking its living soul, its organizing, guiding and directing force. They direct the constructive activities of peoples building a new society and are tirelessly concerned with strengthening the defense might of the socialist countries and developing cooperation and combat teamwork among the brother armies.

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The Ministers of Defense Committee does a big job of ensuring harmonious organizational development of the Joint Armed Forces. An important role in this organizational development is played by the Joint Command, Staff and Technical Committee of the Joint Armed Forces. They implement the coordinated decisions of the Political Consultative Committee, guide the activities of the Joint Armed Forces, elaborate and carry out concrete measures to increase the fighting proficiency and combat readiness, to strengthen the friendship and improve the interaction of the allied armies. The activities of these bodies increase the effectiveness of the joint efforts of the socialist nations to guarantee their collective security.

/Cooperation among the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member nations is constantly developing in various areas./ One of these includes /coordination of armed forces development plans [ds]/, and particularly /implementation of a uniform military-technical policy [ds]/, as well as /execution of coordinated measures in the area of improving combat readiness [ds]/.

The allied armies generously share with one another all they have that is new and actively participate in weapon development and standardization. Manufacture of weapons and combat equipment is also organized in conformity with this, which makes it possible to concentrate efforts on the main thing and to save considerable material and financial resources. An increasingly larger role is being played by international socialist division of labor, specialization and co-production in the defense industry, coordination of scientific research and experimental design activities in the military domain.

Another area encompasses /joint measures pertaining to combat, political and operational training and mutual exchange of experience in personnel training and indoctrination [ds]/. The brother armies hold joint operational-strategic and operational-tactical exercises. At these exercises they work on questions pertaining to training commanders, staffs and all personnel, improve forms and methods of control, combat teamwork of troops and naval forces, modes of combat and combat service support, strengthen relationships of comradeship and friendship, and build on traditions of combat brotherhood. Joint exercises demonstrate the unity and cohesion of the allied armies and the high level of field, air and sea proficiency of personnel. They serve as a genuine school of patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of servicemen.

An important role in assimilation in the Joint Armed Forces of advanced know-how in training troops and naval forces, instruction and indoctrination of personnel is played by joint courses of instruction, conferences, and other measures. Coordinated military scientific work is done in a planned manner, detailed research is conducted on current problems of military affairs, and the most effective forms and methods of employment of forces and weapons are sought.

Primary attention in the development of military science and art of warfare is focused on elaboration of uniform views on the character and modes of combat operations of allied troops and fleets. With each passing year there is an increase in the contribution to military science by all the armies of the Warsaw Pact member nations. The brother armies innovatively utilize the conclusions

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of Soviet military science and art of warfare, the wealth of combat experience of the USSR Armed Forces, and their experience in combat and political training, instruction and indoctrination of personnel.

/Mutual assistance in training highly skilled officer cadres [ds]/ also helps strengthen the fighting alliance of brother armies. Successful accomplishment of this task is promoted by extensive utilization of the highly developed training facilities of the Soviet Armed Forces and their substantial amassed experience in training and indoctrinating officers. The other allied armies also have much valuable experience in training military cadres. All this makes it possible steadily to improve the system of training officer personnel of the Warsaw Pact member nation armies, helps deepen their cooperation and increase the combat power of the Joint Armed Forces.

/Cooperation among the political agencies of the allied armies [ds]/ is constantly developing. They share their experience in party-political work, patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of personnel. Their activities are constructed on the basis of guidelines of the Communist and worker parties of the nations of the socialist community, taking into account both common international missions and the national features and traditions of each army. Cultural and sports contacts among the brother armed forces are deepening.

Vigorous, continuous work is being conducted in all these and other areas of cooperation. They all are more closely uniting the servicemen of the brother armies and prompt them to devote all their resources and energy to military labor aimed at ensuring peaceful conditions for building a new society and the reliable security of each of the allied countries and the entire socialist community.

Unswerving dedication to the ideals of proletarian, socialist internationalism increases the moral-political potential of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces and increases the effectiveness of this defense organization not only as a reliable guarantor of the achievements of socialism but also as an instrument of peace and international security.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact nations selflessly assist liberated countries which have taken the road of progressive development in defending their territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty. Imperialist propaganda seeks to distort the profoundly just nature of such assistance. In spite of their malicious lies, however, millions upon millions of people in various parts of the world are seeing increasingly more clearly that assistance by the socialist countries has a progressive thrust, promotes the ideas of freedom and security of peoples, and is in conformity with the genuine interests of all mankind.

Increasingly broader segments of the international community, for example, are becoming convinced that the Afghan working people are receiving with gratitude the support of the Soviet Union. This support is coming from true friends. It is dictated by faithfulness to treaty obligations, is a response to a request by the government and friendly people of Afghanistan, and serves as an expression of the sincere sentiments of Soviet citizens and their selfless performance of their lofty, noble duty as internationalists.

Soviet servicemen who have had the honor to carry out the mission, as members of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, to give internationalist assistance to the Afghan people, are through their daily deeds building upon the outstanding traditions of patriotism and internationalism of the USSR Armed Forces. These traditions are our wealth and a weapon which does not become obsolete. It is passed on like a relay baton from generation to generation and is doing a fine job of serving the cause of defending the revolutionary achievements of the working people. This weapon continues to be in faithful hands today, when the intrigues of imperialist and other reactionary forces place us before the necessity of keeping our powder dry and tirelessly concerning ourselves with strengthening joint defense.

Attempts by aggressive imperialist circles and the accomplices of imperialism to do detriment to the position of genuine socialism and the national liberation movement are doomed to failure. The Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole possess everything they need to restrain any aggressor. They are devoting unabating attention to strengthening the Warsaw Pact Organization, development and deepening of the close cooperation among the brother socialist armies.

Wholeheartedly dedicated to their people, party, and the cause of communism, the Soviet Armed Forces are marching shoulder to shoulder with the brother armies, reliably defending the revolutionary achievements of the working people, the security of peoples, and world peace.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 35, page 216.
2. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy, i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences, and Central Committee Plenums], Moscow, 1970, Vol 2, page 69.
3. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom: rechi i stat'i" [Following a Leninist Course: Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1974, Vol 4, page 61.
4. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 66.
5. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 35, page 408.
6. PRAVDA, 23 May 1981.
7. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 40, page 183.
8. Brezhnev, op. cit., Vol 4, page 68.

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Chapter Four. SUMMIT OF MILITARY SKILL

1. Toward New Heights of Combat Readiness

Our Armed Forces possess great combat potential. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated, it represents a solid fusion of a high degree of technical equipment, military expertise, and indomitable morale. The capability of the army and navy to realize this potential swiftly and to the fullest degree in order to repel potential aggression is reflected in their continuous high state of combat readiness, which is determined first and foremost by the quality of field, sea and air proficiency of personnel, by the degree of their mastery of weapons and combat equipment, by the level of moral-political conditioning, discipline and organization of troops and naval forces, and by skill in their control and management. In the final analysis combat readiness is, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed, "the summit of troop combat skill in peacetime and the key to victory in war."¹

The party and its Central Committee, elaborating mainline directions of improving the combat readiness of the Armed Forces as a task of primary importance, proceed from the position that in present-day conditions combat readiness should not only be maintained at a high level but also should constantly improve, in order that no surprises catch us napping. This demand is dictated by many interlinked factors.

These include first and foremost /an increase in the aggressiveness of imperialism and intensification of its military preparations./ The United States and its NATO partners, continuously building up their arsenal of aggression, are directing it chiefly against the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community. Hence the necessity of continuous improvement of the combat readiness of our Armed Forces. No matter where troops and naval forces are stationed, their most important mission is to work persistently to master the most effective techniques and means of repelling aggression in conditions of enemy employment of all the weaponry in his arsenal.

This applies to all branches of service, all combat arms and naval forces without exception, including special troops -- signal troops, railway, motor transport and others -- which have long since ceased to be "auxiliary" [vspomogatel'nyimi]. But first and foremost those troops and naval forces stationed on the forward lines of our homeland and the socialist community,

who are standing alert duty, should be in a high state of combat readiness.

The need for constant improvement in the combat readiness of the Armed Forces is also dictated by the /character and features of a potential war, and particularly by the increased significance of the time factor./ In the past weeks and sometimes months were required to bring forces and weapons into a state of readiness to attack an aggressor. In today's conditions this time may run into only hours or even minutes. The potential adversary today possesses weapons and has established force groupings capable of initiating military operations at any time. Naturally this cannot help but reflect on the timetable for carrying out combat readiness measures.

The necessity of further increasing Armed Forces combat readiness is predetermined in large measure by an increase in the role of the element of surprise. In the conceptions of conduct of war adopted by the armies of the imperialist nations, main emphasis is placed on the surprise delivery of a "preemptive" strike, figuring that this will ensure them the strategic initiative and superiority in subsequent prosecution of the war. Therefore our troops and naval forces should be constantly prepared to repulse aggression with maximum effectiveness.

The /duty of alliance to defend the achievements of socialism jointly with the armies of the other Warsaw Pact nations/ also demands a steady increase in the combat readiness of the USSR Armed Forces. They should be constantly ready to ensure the security of the nations of the socialist community, shoulder to shoulder with the brother armies, to defend both their national and common interests. This is achieved by carrying out coordinated measures to improve the combat readiness of the armed forces of all the Warsaw Pact member nations.

Combat readiness is an extremely large, complex and multilevel category. It embodies enormous efforts and material expenditures by the Soviet people to provide the Armed Forces with modern weapons, combat equipment, all the means and resources essential for maintaining them in peacetime and comprehensive support of combat activities in case of war.

Combat readiness has a quite specific, concrete content for each Armed Forces structural level, for each military collective and each serviceman, while duties pertaining to maintaining and steadily strengthening it are rigorously regulated by laws and other basic documents. The USSR Constitution states that it is the duty of the Armed Forces to the people reliably to defend the socialist homeland and to be in a continuous state of combat readiness guaranteeing an immediate rebuff to any aggressor. The need to maintain a continuous state of combat readiness is specified in the military oath and in general military regulations. When swearing the oath, every Soviet serviceman solemnly swears to be prepared at all times to come to the defense of his homeland -- the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics -- and to defend it courageously, skillfully, with dignity and honor, sparing neither his blood nor his very life in order to achieve total victory over our enemies. This is also demanded by the Internal Service Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces. They

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particularly stress the personal responsibility of the commander to the Communist Party and Soviet Government for constant combat and mobilization readiness of the subunit, unit, or warship entrusted to his command. Concrete demands pertaining to maintaining combat readiness are imposed on each and every serviceman by field manuals, regulations, directives, and orders.

A decisive role in maintaining the combat readiness of troops and naval forces at an adequate level is played by /officer cadres./ They organize and direct the training and indoctrination process and the military labor of personnel. Their precision work performance, ideological maturity, professional training, pedagogic skill, and ability to unify and lead the soldier masses directly determine successful accomplishment of the missions assigned to subunits, units, warships, and combined units and, in the final analysis, the level of combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

Responsible jobs pertaining to maintaining troops and naval forces in a continuous state of high combat readiness have been entrusted to warrant officers -- officers' closest assistants. These are highly skilled specialists, genuine experts at their job, who possess a skillful mastery of highly complex combat equipment and possess a great deal of experience in training and indoctrinating personnel.

Noncommissioned officers -- the numerically largest detachment of command cadres -- make a large contribution toward maintaining a high level of combat readiness. Constantly in the very heart of the troops, they are the immediate superiors of the enlisted personnel, train and indoctrinate subordinates on a daily basis, and actively affect strengthening of organization and discipline in the subunits and successful accomplishment of combat and political training tasks.

All-out increase in combat readiness is inseparable from /excellent moral-political and fighting qualities of personnel./ As military affairs become increasingly more complex, the volume of combat training tasks steadily increases, the character of military labor changes qualitatively, and moral-psychological and physical stresses increase. All this imposes high demands on the Soviet serviceman, on his ability successfully to carry out his duties, and the tasks of the vehicle crew, subunit, unit, and warship in any, even the most stressful and complex combat situation.

A constant increase in Armed Forces combat readiness depends directly on the /degree of mastery of weapons and combat equipment by personnel./ Without the ability of each and every serviceman, each and every military collective to take from any modern weapon that which is contained within its design and maximally to utilize its combat capabilities, a high degree of combat readiness is inconceivable.

The better the technical equipment of troops and naval forces, the more surely personnel master weapons and combat equipment and the most effective methods of their employment in battle, the greater is the combat readiness of the subunit, unit, warship, and combined unit. This is one of the most important mechanisms of Armed Forces training.

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Primary emphasis in the troops and fleets is placed on mastering the latest weapons and combat equipment, and this is correct. But one must bear in mind that weapons in use also include models of preceding generations. This situation is connected on the one hand with the rapid pace of scientific and technological advances in military affairs, and on the other hand with the impossibility of simultaneously reequipping all troops and naval forces with new weapons. Therefore, while focusing personnel on the mastery of new weapons, it is important at the same time not to permit failure adequately to appreciate those weapons which have been longer in service and which are still being used in the units and on warships. Personnel are obliged skillfully to utilize the combat capabilities of all weapons and combat equipment in the current inventory.

Combat readiness of troops and naval forces is grounded on their /combat proficiency and their ability to fight in a contemporary manner,/ to gain victory over a strong, well-armed and trained adversary. Mastery of the science of winning never has been a simple or easy matter. Today, when the firepower and striking power of the army and navy have increased immeasurably, when the character of combat has changed radically, it has become an even more complex matter to achieve a high level of field, air and sea performance, demanding enormous daily efforts on the part of all personnel.

In improving one's combat performance and military skill, it is necessary continuously to monitor the appearance of new weapons, combat equipment, and new tactics on the part of the potential adversary, in order to oppose them with highly effective weapons and modes of combat.

Of great importance for improving combat readiness is /close teamwork among the different military services, combat arms, and special troops./ Motorized riflemen and tankers, missile crews and artillerymen, antiaircraft gunners and paratroopers, pilots and sailors possess everything they need for successful accomplishment of any combat mission. But they will become much stronger if their actions are coordinated, if the combined power of their weapons is brought to bear on the aggressor. Not one combat mission can be accomplished without precisely organized and continuously maintained coordination among the diversified forces and weapons in modern combat.

In conditions where combat operations are characterized by great scope and dynamism, when troops and naval forces are armed primarily with crew-served weapons, a high degree of coordination on the part of weapon crews, vehicle crews, and subunits is of particular importance for maintaining combat readiness at the requisite level. It is achieved by certain knowledge and precise execution of one's duties by each and every serviceman, by highly-developed mutual assistance, and by a high degree of interchangeability of personnel.

The importance of capability successfully to perform missions in the face of strong hostile electronic countermeasures has increased substantially in the training of personnel. A large role in improving combat readiness is played by full and comprehensive combat (operational), rear services, and other types of support.

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There are no trivial matters, no insignificant items in ensuring combat readiness, while any mistake, miscalculation or delay in the combat situation as a rule is paid for in blood. Whatever post is assigned to a serviceman, he should be constantly concerned by the thought of whether he is capable and prepared immediately to carry out a combat order. Has he done everything to achieve successful performance of combat missions by the subunit, unit, or warship? Complacency is equivalent to a step backward and therefore is absolutely intolerable. Adequate combat readiness can be ensured only by persistent labor, only by continuous movement forward -- from each achieved level to the next, higher level.

Aggressive intrigues by imperialist reaction, which possesses combat-ready force groupings and nuclear missile weapons which can be brought into action within minutes, incalculably increase demands on vigilance by the personnel of our Armed Forces. There is no combat readiness without vigilance. "To miss an opportunity or to become flustered," wrote V. I. Lenin, "means to lose everything."² A high degree of constant vigilance should be characteristic of every Soviet serviceman. The responsibility for defense of the homeland placed on the Armed Forces by the party and people obliges servicemen to be vigilant everywhere and at all times: when standing alert duty, on guard duty and garrison duty, when performing combat training and other tasks, both on and off the unit compound or warships.

The 26th CPSU Congress highly praised the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces. We in the military are justly proud of this praise. At the same time it obliges us to devote unrelenting attention to combat readiness and to ensure that we continue in the future reliably guaranteeing the peaceful labor of Soviet citizens, peace and the security of other peoples.

2. The Decisive Force -- Man

One of the most important points of Marxist-Leninist teaching on war and the army -- the thesis of the dialectical unity and interrelationship between man and military equipment -- is convincingly embodied in the high degree of combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces. Man and military equipment play a strictly determined role in this unity. The high-principled approach of Marxism-Leninism to appraisal of this role is that man, with his professional, moral-psychological and physical qualities, occupies a dominant status in relation to hardware at any stage of its development. Military hardware always has been and continues to be merely an implement of military activity. And only thanks to man's labor does it, just as any other equipment, to quote K. Marx, rise from the dead.³

The development of new weapons, particularly nuclear missile weapons, the equipping of a number of armies with these weapons, and the extensive automation of control processes do not detract from the role of man and the significance of his professional, moral-psychological and physical qualities. "...No matter how high the degree of an army's technical equipment," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "man, possessing a consummate mastery of the equipment, remains the principal, determining force in war. This is especially important today, in the age of nuclear missile weapons, when the fate of a war will be decided by people who have mastered weapons and combat equipment, who are

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conditioned morally and physically, who are totally dedicated to their homeland, party and people."⁴ This conclusion constitutes an innovative development of the Marxist-Leninist view of the correlation between man and military hardware applicable to the concrete historical conditions of the present day.

Man's decisive role in battle is dictated first and foremost /by the specific features of contemporary war,/ material preparations for which are being conducted by aggressive imperialist circles at an accelerated pace. If these circles succeed in unleashing a war, it will inevitably assume the character of a clash between two opposing social systems, unprecedented in its violence and uncompromising nature, and will constitute the severest test of man's spiritual and physical resources. There will be a great increase in the stress of combat activity, a sharp increase in psychological and physical stresses which personnel will be forced to bear. In these conditions the combat missions facing a combined unit, unit, and warship can be successfully accomplished only by those personnel who feel the deepest, unwavering, to quote V. I. Lenin, "conviction in the just nature of the war and awareness of the necessity of sacrificing their lives for the welfare of their brothers...."⁵ Precisely such a conviction and such awareness are formed in Soviet servicemen by the entire tenor of life in our society, our Armed Forces, by the purposeful work done by commanders, political agencies, party and Komsomol organizations.

While contemporary war imposes extremely high demands on a serviceman in general, these demands are immeasurably greater on an officer, for an officer, and particularly a commander, must, just as every soldier, staunchly overcome the difficulties and dangers of battle. But in addition, he must continuously and firmly direct his troops in any situation, even the most complex, maintaining a high degree of fighting spirit in his men, giving them an example of courage and fearlessness, leading them and inspiring them to successful accomplishment of the assigned mission. Hence special demands on the entire aggregate of qualities characterizing the personality of today's Soviet officer. It is difficult and perhaps impossible to overemphasize their importance.

Man's decisive role in contemporary war is also dictated by the fact that /weapons per se cannot ensure success./ Needed for this are people who have received appropriate moral-political and professional training and preparation and who are capable, as V. I. Lenin noted, "of knowledgeably utilizing the latest advancements in military hardware."⁶

The history of war abounds in examples of how well-equipped troops which possessed an inadequate mastery of their weapons went down to defeat. We also know of facts of an opposite nature, where superior art of warfare and combat skill, multiplied by strength of spirit, made up for the inadequate technical equipment of troops and produced victory. One fights not by numbers but by skill. This Suvorov precept continues to be valid today. The ability to take from highly complex modern weapons everything of which they are capable and of competently operating and utilizing them in combat with maximum effectiveness creates the preconditions for successful accomplishment of any combat missions. Such an ability presupposes, alongside individual skills, the very highest degree of coordination of actions by many individuals -- skilled, precise actions, totally subordinated to the single will of the commander and directed toward achieving victory in battle.

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Today's serviceman is required not only to possess excellent mastery of all modes of the most effective employment of the weapons and combat equipment entrusted to him but also clearly to understand the missions of the subunit, unit, and warship, precisely to know his place and role in performing these missions.

Indoctrination in servicemen of a high degree of organization and responsibility is one of the most important parts of the job performed by commanders, political agencies, party and Komsomol organizations. The key to success here lies in establishing respect and demandingness in the mutual relations among servicemen, in military personnel understanding the primacy of the interests of society over personal interests and a striving toward flawless performance both of one's immediate service duties and of all combat and training tasks assigned to a military collective.

This is especially important today, when improvement of weapons and combat equipment is causing an increasingly deeper division of military labor and engendering new military technical specialties. Maintenance and combat employment of modern weapons demand a degree of serviceman occupational training which ensures mastery of any weapon and combat equipment in the shortest possible time and makes it possible, when necessary, successfully to replace a comrade who has become disabled.

Knowledge alone, even profound, diversified knowledge is insufficient to ensure that weapons and combat equipment are adequately controlled by a serviceman and that he can obtain from them everything of which they are capable. Also needed are solid skills in weapons employment in the highly complex conditions of today's combat. But since these conditions are not and cannot be accommodated within the framework of any standards, the innovativeness and initiative of personnel assume primary significance. Alongside discipline, courage, bravery, self-sacrifice and other qualities which have always been and continue to be integral attributes of military valor, the ability to perform aggressively, with a full energy output and for an extended period of time is demanded of personnel. In short, our servicemen today, stresses Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, must be capable "of combining the traditions of selfless courage of their fathers with consummate knowledge of the most advanced military hardware."⁷ This will enable them to perform in a worthy manner the responsible and honorable mission assigned to them by the party and people.

The conceptions of bourgeois theorists differ sharply from Marxist-Leninist views on the correlation between man and military hardware. They place man and military equipment in opposition to one another and attempt to examine them isolated from the concrete sociopolitical environment and historical situation. Some of them absolutize the role of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, and view means of automation as "higher beings," which are allegedly capable of replacing man. Such an absolutization of weapons and equipment in fact serves for justification of arms buildup and at the same time for training unthinking executors of orders and transforming the soldiers of imperialist armies into a kind of "appendage" of modern weapons.

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Other bourgeois military theorists advance conceptions in which absolutization of weapons and combat equipment exists side by side with the forced acknowledgment that man nevertheless constitutes the principal instrument of war. Recently such conceptions have been reflected even in official documents of imperialist armies. This is connected with the fact that attempts to push man, with the aid of electronic computers, out of the domain of control of combat equipment and troops have proven fruitless. Acknowledgement of man's most important role in war, however, by no means signifies that the imperialists have given up their attempt to transform the personnel of their armies into a blind instrument of antipopular, aggressive, reactionary policy. By all means they implant among military personnel cruelty, disdain for man, his dignity, and his very life, as well as for all the valuable things of civilization. Brainwashing of personnel in the armed forces of the United States and its NATO partners is carried out in a spirit of militarism and aggression, anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. And it is bearing its sinister fruits. Testimony to this includes the crimes committed by the U.S. military during the aggressive U.S. war in Vietnam, atrocities perpetrated by British soldiers in Ulster, and the bloody crimes perpetrated by the Israeli murderers in the Near East.

By bribery and lies, by political filtration and purges, and by strict preservation of the bourgeois caste officer corps -- by all these and other means monopoly capital makes mass armies into its obedient instrument. Equipped with the most modern arms, these armies represent a considerable force, designated to protect the reactionary interests of the bourgeoisie. But precisely because this force stands opposed to the people, it lacks genuine ideological and moral-political stimuli, as a consequence of which, as is indicated by the facts of history, the armies of exploiter states fail in the final analysis to withstand the great moral and psychological stress and begin to disintegrate in a difficult situation and to lose their war-fighting capability. This pattern has invariably been manifested in the past, and it is particularly applicable in present-day conditions.

The armies of exploiter states do not and cannot have that which comprises the main attribute of socialist armies and is the life-giving source of their invincible might -- the justice of the goals which socialist armed forces serve, their genuinely humane function, which corresponds to the root interests of the worker masses. Of course another important element is the personnel of the socialist armies -- ideologically conditioned and totally devoted to the people and the socialist homeland. Only socialism engenders mass heroism and self-sacrifice. "The strength and fortitude of the Soviet Armed Forces," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "are grounded on a strong awareness of their patriotic duty by all military personnel, by their profound ideological conviction and boundless faith in the ideals of communism. This potent weapon of our army always helped it defeat our enemies, from the very first days of its existence."⁸

Exercising day-by-day guidance of the Armed Forces, the CPSU devotes unabating attention to this powerful spiritual weapon and is constantly concerned to ensure that the ideological-political, moral-combat and psychological training of army and navy personnel is always up to the level of the highest demands of the time.

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3. Increasing Effectiveness of Control

The combat readiness of the Armed Forces is directly dependent on the level of leadership of troops and naval forces, on the ability of commanders, staffs, and all control agencies to organize and unify personnel, to mobilize their will and energy for the accomplishment of assigned missions. To control effectively means to ensure unconditional attainment of stated objectives and maximum efficient utilization of the combat capabilities of subunits, units, warships, and combined units. This requires a confident understanding of events, predicting situation development, drawing up well-substantiated plans, reaching feasible decisions, and persistently implementing them.

Even a cursory enumeration of the demands imposed on control shows what qualities are essential to the military leader. These qualities naturally do not come by themselves. They are acquired through persistent study and constant independent work in the process of daily activities. Innovative employment of progressive control methods and means, thorough analysis of combat experience, and mastery of all the finest of that which has been amassed by a wealth of practical experience in troop training, teaching and indoctrinating personnel are of primary importance.

Improvement of control in the Armed Forces is accomplished in conformity with the general demands which the CPSU imposes on leadership in all areas of building communism, on all party, soviet and economic management cadres. "Authorities -- and considerable authorities -- are given to leader personnel in order that they utilize these authorities in full measure," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. "But each and every leader should also constantly bear in mind his great responsibility -- responsibility to those by whom he has been entrusted with the job of leading, to the party and the people."⁹

The responsibility of the military leader for successful control of troops and naval forces is unprecedentedly high in present-day conditions. This proceeds from radical changes in the means and modes of waging war. Even with adequate technical equipment and well trained personnel, the combat capabilities of subunits, units, warships and combined units will remain unutilized and performance of missions will be under threat of failure if control is not reliable.

The role of control is great in accomplishing tasks of combat and political training and combat readiness, just as in achieving the objectives of an operation or battle. The more purposeful and efficient control is, the more fully it is in conformity with present-day demands, the greater are the results of accomplishment of the tasks facing the Armed Forces. The most important conditions for efficiency of control are extensive adoption of scientific organization of labor, advance planning methods, and aggressive utilization of modern computer hardware.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that merely fulfillment of these conditions guarantees success. One can make a correct decision, prepare a good plan, and advance an excellent idea. But if one does not organize their execution, they will remain an unimplemented scheme. Nothing is accomplished

automatically. Everything is determined by people who see an objective, know the ways to achieve it, and possess the requisite knowledge, skills and means to do so. It is not mere coincidence that our party views control as the science of working with people. To master this science means to master the science of winning. And to achieve this, every officer must work persistently and tirelessly to raise his level of Marxist-Leninist training, to broaden his operational-tactical horizons, and improve his ability to operate in a complex and stressful situation.

Based on general scientific foundations and Leninist principles of management of the socialist society, the theory and practice of control of troops and naval forces also have their own specific features. They are dictated by the specific features of contemporary war as well as tasks pertaining to defense of the socialist homeland, and military activities proper.

Profound knowledge of the laws of warfare and comprehensive consideration of their operation and forms of manifestation in concrete conditions make it possible correctly to determine the main, most important trends in development of military affairs, correctly to estimate the situation and its possible changes, and to make the most expedient decisions. In other words, relying on knowledge of the laws of warfare and guided by the fundamental principles and methods of troop and naval forces control, one can foresee [predvitet'] the development of events and thus to a significant degree ensure successful accomplishment of assigned missions.

Foresight is of enormous significance in all domains of human activity. V. I. Lenin appraised it as an essential condition for correct determination of the basic directions of societal development. Possessing the priceless gift of foresight, V. I. Lenin deeply revealed the sources and internal relationships of the highly complex events and processes taking place in society, and with scientific certainty predicted the possible paths of their subsequent development. The entire history of mankind in the 20th century confirms the ingenious perspicacity of our great leader.

Foresight plays an enormous role in the military realm, and this is understandable. The cost of errors and miscalculations in this area is too high -- for it is a matter of our country's security, the strength of its defense, and the capability of the Armed Forces to offer a devastating rebuff to any aggressor. Miscalculations in appraising the potential development of events, in determining the sequence of performance of tasks and the importance of various work areas, just as mistakes in decisions, are particularly dangerous in present-day conditions. And this is primarily because the magnitude of the probable consequences of these miscalculations and errors has increased immeasurably. Their correction is extremely difficult and sometimes impossible.

The importance of foresight in strategic, operational and tactical leadership and in elaborating any decision is greater today than ever before. Without this it is impossible to prepare troops and naval forces for successful operations. This is why it will obviously be no exaggeration to state that /to control in present-day conditions means first and foremost to foresee./ Effective management of the organizational development and improvement of the

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Armed Forces is impossible without considering the main development trends in the military-political situation, the attained level and future growth prospects of the economy, the sociopolitical and spiritual development of the Soviet society, scientific and technological advances. No less important is a timely and objective appraisal of the resources and capabilities of the potential adversary, taking into consideration trends in their change. Success in accomplishing the missions assigned to troops and naval forces depends in large measure on the ability to look into the future in the training of subunits, units, warships, and combined units, and to ensure that it is in conformity with the demands not only of today but of tomorrow as well.

As an integral part of a scientific approach to organization of training and indoctrination of personnel and to preparation for and conduct of the modern operation and battle, foresight is taking on particular significance in connection with the fact that troops and naval forces are armed with powerful, swift and long-range weapons, which have a high technical readiness, and in view of the necessity of making optimal decisions as a rule in an extremely short period of time and in a stressful, swiftly and sharply changing situation.

It is quite obvious that a decision will be most expedient only if it is grounded on thorough operational-tactical calculations, on a profound and comprehensive situation analysis, and on precise consideration of the situation, the state and capabilities of friendly troops as well as the adversary's forces, the developing correlation of forces, the influence of the radiation situation, terrain conditions, weather and other factors. On the whole making a decision is always a complex creative process and is always somewhat of a step into the unknown. Every decision involves risk to one degree or another, since it is based most frequently on incomplete, at times contradictory data and is made under the active influence of the adversary. Risk, however, is by no means a random action in the hope of a favorable outcome of a battle or operation. On the contrary, it is the ability to discover concealed situation factors and, recognizing the adversary's chain of reasoning, to beat him to the punch and impose one's own will on him.

No matter how complex the problem of foresight is, it can be solved and solved successfully. For this the military leader of any echelon should work persistently to develop in himself the ability deeply and comprehensively to analyze the situation and to elucidate those most important elements which can determine the course and outcome of a battle and operation. It is also very important to work persistently to master the skill of recreating an overall picture of events on the basis of individual details, which at times seem insignificant, and to select the appropriate modes of combat actions and forms of maneuver in order to anticipate the adversary's intentions, to ensure effective employment of one's own men and weapons, and to utilize all available opportunities for achieving success.

Foresight makes it possible better to organize control and to ensure implementation of the specified battle or operation plan and execution of the adopted decision. But all this under the condition of high reliability and survivability of communications equipment and adequate efficiency of control agencies. We are dealing with at least three aspects here. Communications

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should be secure, protected against hostile jamming, and be stable, regardless of the complexity of the radioelectronic situation. Without this, control is impossible in today's warfare. Equally important are firmness and at the same time flexibility of control. Even the very best decision may prove to be unexecuted if there is no firm control. At the same time flexibility and efficiency make it possible promptly to make appropriate changes in the original operation concept, to stay ahead of events, and to guide them in a direction advantageous to oneself and disadvantageous to the adversary. And finally, efficient organization of the activities of troop and naval forces control agencies and skillful placement of manpower and equipment among control facilities are essential.

In present-day conditions the commander and his staff as a rule have considerably less time available than in the past to organize for combat, and yet the volume of situation information has increased severalfold and is continuing to grow. We are faced with a serious, one can say without exaggeration acute, problem. There are two ways of solving it. The first is /improvement of operational-tactical training of commanders and staffs,/ and the second -- /further automation of troop and naval forces control./ Naturally both are organically interlinked, and only their combined implementation can guarantee success.

Continuous improvement of operational-tactical training of commanders and staffs is a decisive precondition for a high degree of combat readiness of all elements of the control system. Of course all measures in this area should be based on increase in the general and military knowledgeability of officer cadres and be fortified by development of firm practical control skills. It is necessary to possess the ability rapidly to draw up a plan and prepare for combat, precisely to assign missions, to organize coordination and comprehensive support for a battle or operation.

Automation of control also helps achieve these aims. It substantially speeds up the collection and processing of information, preparation of data for decision-making, and makes it possible to optimize planning and promptly to communicate to troops and naval forces combat missions, instructions, signals, and commands. As a result of adoption and skilled utilization of means of automation, commanders and staffs obtain additional time for productive work in the course of preparing for and conducting combat actions. Control efficiency also increases.

Opening up extensive opportunities for overcoming conflicts between increased demands on control and the possibilities of meeting them, automation, however, of course does not automatically guarantee efficient troop control. Its adoption should be combined with well-conceived organization of control agency activities. These activities in turn should be provided with technical, software, information and all other types of support. In particular, operation and battle modeling based on mathematical methods substantially expands the possibilities of forecasting and makes it possible more precisely and fully to consider the numerous factors which influence the course and outcome of operations. Operational-strategic and operational forecasts, military-economic, military-technical and operational-tactical calculations also rely on these same methods.

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Optimal plan variants of the most complex measures are elaborated with their assistance, schedules of the most efficient control agency work are prepared, and precise coordination of manpower and weapons and reliable verification of execution are achieved.

Even with a high degree of automation, however, /the predominant role in control will always be played by the commander, while his staff will continue to remain the principal control agency./ This is why it is so important to make every effort to develop initiative, innovative activity, independence and responsibility on the part of military cadres in directing troops and naval forces and to adopt advanced methods of planning and decision-making. Improvement of the style of management activity is closely linked with continuous improvement of the structure of control agencies at all levels -- strategic, operational, and tactical.

Our command, political and engineer-technician cadres work persistently to enrich their theoretical arsenal and improve practical skills. They are keeping pace with the times and possess a high degree of professional training, firm moral-political conditioning, and are capable of accomplishing any tasks pertaining to troop and naval forces control, including the most complex.

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [Following a Leninist Course], Vol 2, page 49.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 39, page 55.
3. See K. Marks and F. Engel's, "Soch." [Writings], Vol 23, page 194.
4. Brezhnev, op. cit., Vol 2, page 51.
5. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 41, page 212.
6. Ibid., Vol 9, page 156.
7. L. I. Brezhnev, "Na strazhe mira i sotsializma" [Guarding Peace and Socialism], second, enlarged edition, Moscow, 1981, page 235.
8. Ibid., page 104.
9. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 50.

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Chapter Five. HIGH QUALITY OF TRAINING AND INDOCTRINATION

1. Study in a Proper Manner

Improvement of weapons and combat equipment, the forms and modes of combat operations, and strengthening of the role of the moral-political factor in contemporary war impose high demands on quality of training and indoctrination of personnel. These demands apply both to those who organize the training and indoctrination process and direct it on a daily basis and to the trainees themselves, who are called upon to master military skills and to be staunch and able defenders of the socialist homeland. /A guarantee of high quality of training and indoctrination lies in their joint activities and common goal of steady increase in the combat readiness of the Armed Forces./

Training and indoctrination in the army and navy is a dual process. Its main areas include training of conscientious servicemen who possess excellent combat, moral-political and psychological qualities, and the combat coordination of subunits, units, and warships. The main efforts of officer cadres and all army and navy personnel are concentrated in these areas.

The slogan "Study military affairs in a proper manner," advanced by V. I. Lenin, continues today to serve as a guide to practical action for Soviet military personnel. Following this slogan, they master the sum total of ideological-political and military-professional knowledge, weapons and combat equipment, and develop the willingness and capability to operate skillfully in any and all combat situation conditions. Efficient utilization of training time, economizing in funds and resources, and a constant search for an assimilation of those forms and methods of training which meet today's demands to the greatest degree are the direct task of each and every serviceman, each and every military collective.

A great many measures are being conducted in the troops and fleets aimed at improving the efficiency and quality of training and indoctrination. Such attention is entirely warranted. Not always, however, is positive experience publicized and disseminated. Adopted decisions and recommendations are sometimes not implemented. It also sometimes happens that there is discussion, examination, visits to units -- and things end with that. Obviously there is little benefit from such measures. All valuable innovations should not only receive approval but must be synthesized and persistently adopted in the practical combat and political training and indoctrination of personnel. This

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is particularly important since training schedules and curricula are becoming more heavily packed with material year by year, while the tasks performed by military personnel are becoming increasingly more complex.

A paramount role in improving the effectiveness and quality of the training and indoctrination process is played by /steady implementation of the Leninist principle of Communist ideological content and party-mindedness of training and indoctrination, and innovative application of the conclusions and recommendations of military science and the art of warfare, military education science and psychology./ It is important to know well the actual state of affairs in the subunit, unit, and on the warship, and to possess accurate, timely and complete information on the daily life and activities of personnel. V. I. Lenin highly praised the ability "precisely to determine the state of affairs, without closing one's eyes to the truth."¹

/Skilled planning/ occupies an important place in work to improve the effectiveness and quality of training and indoctrination. Without question a plan should be realistic in any element of the army or navy organism, at any level of the structure of the Armed Forces, and its execution should be comprehensively supported. Comprehensively means not only in a material-technical respect but also in an organizational and ideological-political respect. Of particular importance is absolute observance of the demands of plan discipline. Important thereby is precise organization of checking performance and verifying execution. To command without inquiring into or lacking the ability to verify execution, wrote V. I. Lenin, "is downright fatal in military affairs."²

Skillful application of /a combined approach to accomplishing combat training tasks/ helps improve effectiveness and quality of training and indoctrination. Applied to the Armed Forces, a combined approach presupposes an indissoluble unity of training of personnel with their political, military, and moral indoctrination. It makes it possible to utilize training time, funds and resources with maximum return, to form in personnel excellent fighting, moral-political and psychological qualities, to arm them in a short period of time with the requisite knowledge and skills, and to achieve combat coordination of subunits, units, and warships.

One cannot speak seriously about improving the effectiveness and quality of training troops and naval forces without /continuous improvement in the forms and methods of training and indoctrinating personnel./ They should not lag behind the changes taking place in technical equipment of the Armed Forces, in the techniques and modes of conduct of combat operations. In particular, the increasing complexity of tasks pertaining to organizing teamwork and coordination among the diversified forces and weapons in the battle and operation present us with many problems. Quite naturally it is extremely difficult to express today's training and indoctrination process in a single, permanent methodological formula. Nor is there a need to do so. No one method, no one form of training and indoctrination, taken separately, can ensure excellent training of a serviceman, let alone a subunit, unit, or warship. Another thing is important. It is necessary to employ broadly and innovatively both traditional, practically-tested forms and methods of training and indoctrination and new ones, engendered by daily practical activities in the army and

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navy. Only under this condition is it possible to improve the effectiveness and quality of the training and indoctrination process.

In this connection we should note the great importance of combat experience, particularly the experience of the Great Patriotic War, for training and indoctrination of servicemen. This is our priceless wealth. And the ability to utilize it in the interests of successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the army and navy is one of the most important indicators of maturity of officer cadres. The experience of contemporary local wars also merits careful study.

Alongside the experience of wars, it is necessary extensively to utilize the experience of daily combat and political training, particularly large-scale maneuvers and exercises. But this experience can be truly useful only if all combat and political training, and particularly maneuvers and exercises, are conducted in conditions maximally approximating actual combat. In other words, it is necessary /to teach the troops that which is needed in war./ Today this is an immutable condition of a high degree of combat readiness, and it must be rigorously fulfilled. Considerable work is being done in this area, and it is producing positive results. This is attested in particular by the "Zapad-81" [West-81] exercise in September 1981. Problems of combat teamwork and coordination during the conduct of joint combat actions by combined units and units of the various branches of service and combat arms were worked on at this exercise. The men who took part in the exercise carried out their duty with honor. They displayed courage and the ability to act aggressively and with initiative, and skillfully to employ their weapons in combat. The exercise showed the high degree of political maturity and outstanding volitional qualities of personnel, their readiness to come to the self-sacrificing defense of our socialist homeland, our friends and allies.

The "Zapad-81" exercise was a test of the military skill of troops and naval forces, their report to the party, government and the entire Soviet people on successes in combat and political training. The performance of the troops and naval forces at the exercise was given high marks by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mar SU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the USSR Defense Council. "A high degree of proficiency, precision teamwork among the combat arms, and skillful mastery of today's potent hardware," he stressed, "were all demonstrated in the course of the exercise."³

On the whole a solicitous, attentive attitude toward amassed know-how is an important condition for confident movement forward. Of course this experience must be applied innovatively, taking into account the concrete conditions in which the subunit, unit, and warship perform their assigned missions, the specific features of the branch of service and combat arms, and the features of the weapons and combat equipment.

Improvement of the forms and methods of training and indoctrination of servicemen demands innovativeness and initiative, purposefulness and persistence. It is important to gather together the new bit by bit, to test it thoroughly and to develop it further. Clearly what is needed here is not fine phrases but painstaking daily work, work excluding both inertness, impeding the new, and

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attempts to adopt any undertaking immediately, without serious elucidation of its actual benefit, while sweepingly discarding that which was previously used.

With a great diversity of forms and methods of training and indoctrinating personnel, the stated objectives can be achieved only when training items are worked on /with a full effort./ The content and character of the training and indoctrination process should reflect the state and development prospects of military affairs, the conditions of the theater of military operations, the combat capabilities of one's own troops and those of the potential adversary, his strong and weak points.

These are the general demands on the training and indoctrination process. Certain points proceed from them, connected with concrete practical work in the area of training and indoctrination personnel.

Essential conditions for effectiveness of the training and indoctrination process -- and this was once again graphically shown by the "Zapad-81" exercise -- are precise organization, a high degree of instructiveness, and creation of a situation which demands of servicemen full exertion of spiritual and physical resources, maximum yield, initiative, and innovativeness. It is no secret that unnecessary relaxation of demands and situation simplifications do serious detriment to the quality of the training and indoctrination. They are especially intolerable because they impede correct preparation of servicemen for today's combat and can create a false impression of it. And this is fraught with negative consequences in an actual combat situation.

In the final analysis a serviceman's readiness and ability to carry out his assigned duties intelligently and skillfully in any combat situation conditions are the main, determining indicator of effectiveness and quality of the training and indoctrination process. Just what this indicator will be depends in large measure on the /ideological-theoretical and professional level as well as methods skills of command, political, and engineer-technician cadres./

In order to teach and indoctrinate subordinates it is necessary to possess a great deal of knowledge and ability, to possess broad erudition and a high level of general knowledgeability. It is necessary to have a clear picture not only of /what [ds]/ to teach but also /how [ds]/ to teach, to possess a mastery of the entire arsenal of means and methods of training and indoctrination, and to apply it in an innovative manner. Today one of the main criteria of the methods skill of an instructor is the ability to impart to the trainees a maximum volume of knowledge and to develop in them solid skills in the shortest possible time. And this is natural, for demands on level of training of servicemen are steadily growing, while the term of compulsory military service remains unchanged. As experience shows, a successful solution to this problem is achieved through constant consideration of the actual level of preparation of personnel, the character of the tasks assigned to the subunit, unit, and warship, the sequence and conditions of their execution and concentration of main efforts on the principal, determining directions and areas of work involving training and indoctrination of personnel.

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Of course concentration of main efforts on the principal items by no means signifies that other questions can be ignored by the author. The skilled leader and indoctrinator of subordinates correctly distributes his attention and never ignores so-called "trivia." These very "trivia," if they are ignored, can gradually grow into serious errors of omission.

Work with people comprises the heart of training and indoctrination. Achievement of the objectives of the training and indoctrination process depends directly on the ability of officers to organize the activities of their subordinates, to impart a purposeful character to it, to rely on party and Komsomol organizations and on the military collective. Mutual understanding between superiors and subordinates, coordination of their actions, and a common striving to accomplish assigned tasks are enormously important.

Unfortunately, some command personnel are inclined to believe that in order to achieve success it is necessary to maintain a certain "distance" between themselves and their subordinates and to impose on them a demandingness based exclusively on considerations of subordination. There is no question about the fact that the military man must unconditionally observe subordination. But in no case should he forget that demandingness is truly effective only when it is combined with respect for subordinates and proceeds from trust in them. "Trust," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "inspires people, gives them strength and confidence."⁴

A soldier's confidence in himself, in his resources and ability, in his comrades, shoulder to shoulder with whom he serves, and of course in his superiors, under the leadership of whom all his activities take place, is a great help in accomplishing combat training and indoctrination tasks. The wealth of practical experience of our Armed Forces attests to the fact that success attends those officers who not only teach their subordinates but who themselves learn from those under them, who in every possible way develop in servicemen a feeling of their own worth, encourage initiative and innovativeness, and listen to their opinion. Wherever commanders, political workers and all officers know well the attitudes of personnel, their aspirations and needs, their strong and weak points, and skillfully combine an individual approach with reliance on the collective, performance indices in combat and political training, in meeting socialist pledges, and in maintaining firm observance of regulations and solid military discipline are invariably high. This relationship is of the nature of a regular pattern which is given practical confirmation every day and every hour.

There is in the hands of organizers and leaders of the training and indoctrination process a truly powerful means of improving its effectiveness and quality. It is dictated by the sociopolitical nature of our Armed Forces. It is /socialist competition./ Comrade L. I. Brezhnev called it one of the vivid manifestations of a new attitude toward labor. Constituting essentially an embodiment of the conscientiousness, initiative and creative activity of Soviet citizens, socialist competition also permeates all elements of the training and indoctrination process in the Armed Forces. Organized in conformity with the Leninist principles of publicity and comparability of results, and full utilization of advanced know-how, it mobilizes servicemen for high-quality

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performance of combat and political training tasks and impels them to emulate outstanding performers, performance-rated specialists, to work with maximum return on efforts, not to rest on their laurels, but to move forward at all times and to achieve more. Today socialist competition in the army and navy encompasses practically all personnel and is aimed at successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

In conformity with the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, All-Union Central Trade Union Council and Komsomol Central Committee decree entitled "On All-Union Socialist Competition for Successful Fulfillment and Over-fulfillment of the Targets of the 11th Five-Year Plan," measures ensuring further enhancement of the role of socialist competition and high-quality accomplishment of tasks of combat and political training and increasing combat readiness have been specified and are being implemented everywhere in the Armed Forces -- in the military districts, the groups of forces, fleets, combined units, units, on warships, at military educational institutions, at military enterprises, and in military establishments and organizations. Commanders, political agencies, party and Komsomol organizations are seeking to achieve, utilizing all forms of ideological indoctrination work, an increase in the fine traditions of socialist competition and creation in each collective of a situation of genuine innovative search, competitiveness, comradely mutual assistance, a high degree of responsibility and businesslike efficiency. Initiatives of military personnel, army and navy civilian workers and employees aimed at further improving work efficiency and quality and at achieving excellent end results of personnel training and indoctrination are receiving effective support and extensive dissemination.

It is quite obvious that it is impossible to achieve a high level of effectiveness and quality of the training and indoctrination process without /full utilization of training facilities and their continuous development./ The troops and fleets have training centers, training grounds, firing ranges, classrooms, laboratories, and training drill sites. They ensure high-quality performance of training drills and exercises, including live-fire gunnery, live missile firing and bombing. In order to ensure that training facilities are in conformity with today's demands, however, there must be persistent effort to continue their development. This applies first and foremost to communications equipment and adoption of electronic gear, various optical, mechanical and other devices and equipment, and simulators.

The efforts of industrial designers and inventors are focused on developing new comprehensive aircraft, missile, tank and other simulators, fire simulators which record target hit effectiveness, plus other training devices. Armed Forces efficiency innovators and inventors are also making an appreciable contribution to this effort. There are considerable opportunities in the troops and fleets for independent fabrication and extensive dissemination of many types of training devices, simulators and other devices promoting intensification of the training and indoctrination process. It is important to utilize these opportunities to the fullest possible extent.

Continuous improvement in the general educational and cultural level of personnel is opening up wide opportunities for extensive employment of programmed

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teaching devices. This creates good preconditions for shortening the time required to train a specialist, for economizing in manpower, funds and resources, and in the final analysis for improving the effectiveness and quality of the entire process of training and indoctrination.

Development of training facilities is making them increasingly more costly, and this is natural, for they are equipped with complex instruments, devices and equipment. Thanks to the tireless concern of the party and the entire Soviet people, army and navy personnel have everything they need for fruitful combat training and performance of duty and for a full spiritual and intellectual life. Have a thrifty attitude toward everything the Soviet people give the Armed Forces -- this demand proceeds from the general guideline of the 26th CPSU Congress which states the need to practice thrifty management of public property. Soviet servicemen accept this as a guide in their daily life and activities.

There exists the most direct link between effectiveness of training and indoctrination of personnel and level of /military discipline./ A high degree of organization and firm observance of regulations give troops and naval forces the ability to perform swiftly, with precision and teamwork in any situation and comprise the foundation for prompt, strict and precise execution of training curricula and schedules and achievement of maximum results from each and every training class, each and every training hour. At the same time even isolated instances of lack of organization can lead to serious breakdowns in combat and political training. They exert the most negative influence on quality of training activities and do appreciable detriment to the cause of indoctrinating personnel. Consequently, the stronger discipline is in the subunit, unit, and warship, the better is the effectiveness and quality of the training and indoctrination process. Feedback of course also exists: the better organized training and indoctrination of servicemen is, the more it influences strengthening of discipline. Our officer cadres should always take into consideration this dialectical relationship in their daily activities.

Further improvement in effectiveness and quality of the training and indoctrination process in the Armed Forces is ensured by smooth, coordinated work by commanders, political agencies, party and Komsomol organizations, and selfless labor by all personnel. The ideological conditioning of servicemen is becoming stronger, their combat expertise is increasing, and the combat readiness of the army and navy is steadily growing.

2. Lofty Mission of the Officer

The difficult and responsible labor of the Soviet officer -- labor for the sake of the freedom and happiness of Soviet citizens, for the sake of a bright future for the Soviet people, and for the sake of peace and life on earth -- is respected and honored in this country by the entire people. The man of a new, socialist system, flesh and blood of the people, their loyal and devoted son, the Soviet officer has been nurtured and indoctrinated by the party in a spirit of unswerving dedication to the cause of communism and the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism. The officer's mission is to ensure reliable defense of the socialist homeland. He dedicates all his energy, knowledge and talent to this lofty mission.

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The Soviet officer has a fine pedigree. Its sources are to be found in that flaming time when the Soviet Republic, which had just gained victory, was forced to defend its freedom in a savage struggle against domestic and external counterrevolution. In that time, one day in the difficult year 1919, V. I. Lenin addressed future Red Army commanders and predicted that Red officers, whose origins are in the people, "will enjoy prestige among the soldiers and will be able to strengthen socialism in our army. Such an army will be invincible."⁵

The great truth of Lenin's prediction has been convincingly affirmed by history. Soviet officers carried their lofty name with honor through numerous engagements and battles. The names of the first Soviet military leaders, commanders and political workers -- S. M. Budenny, K. Ye. Voroshilov, S. M. Kirov, V. V. Kuybyshev, M. N. Tukhachevskiy, M. V. Frunze and many other heroes, who laid down the foundation of new, socialist fighting traditions -- traditions of selfless, dedicated service to the Soviet homeland -- are inscribed with gold letters in the heroic chronicle of the Soviet Armed Forces.

These outstanding traditions were continued and augmented during the years of the Great Patriotic War. The exploits of N. Gastello and A. Mares'yev, A. Pokryshkin and I. Kozhedub, I. Panfilov and L. Dovator, plus thousands of other combat veteran officers and general officers became bright symbols of an unbending strength of spirit, will to win, and combat skill. A weighty contribution toward increasing our combat traditions and to the treasure house of the Soviet art of warfare was made by a new pleiad of party-indoctrinated military leaders and commanders -- G. K. Zhukov, A. M. Vasilevskiy, I. Kh. Bagramyan, I. F. Vatutin, L. A. Govorov, A. G. Golovko, A. I. Yermenko, I. S. Konev, N. G. Kuznetsov, R. Ya. Malinovskiy, K. A. Meretskov, K. S. Moskalenko, F. S. Oktyabr'skiy, I. Ye. Petrov, K. K. Rokossovskiy, F. I. Tolbukhin, I. D. Chernyakhovskiy, V. I. Chuykov, plus many others. Hundreds of thousands of officers, general officers and flag officers were awarded USSR medals and decorations for their great military expertise, courage, staunchness and heroism, while more than 6000 of these were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

Today as well, in peacetime, Soviet officers are worthily carrying the baton of heroism, glory, and selfless dedication to their patriotic and internationalist duty. Soviet citizens and the peoples of the brother socialist nations hold sacred the memory of young pilots of an air unit of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, officers B. Kapustin and Yu. Yanov, who sacrificed their own lives to guide their falling aircraft away from densely-populated residential blocks. Lt A. Kiselev displayed self-control and composure at a moment of mortal danger. In saving the lives of his men, he lost both hands. Today this young officer once again is on active duty in the Armed Forces, enrolled at a service academy. Capt Tech Serv N. Kuznetsov did not retreat in the face of death, saving a grainfield from going up in flames. Sr Lt V. Goncharenko died rescuing people from a fire. Army and navy officers display examples of heroism, courage, and valor also in performance of their daily duties and training. Many of them have been awarded combat decorations, while the finest have been awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

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The succession of generations which is characteristic of our socialist system and the Soviet way of life gives the Armed Forces officer corps special solidarity and increases its spiritual potential. Each new generation of commanders, political workers, engineers and technicians takes all the finest elements from its predecessors, relies on their experience and know-how and, thanks to this, achieves further improvement in proficiency and increased combat readiness of troops and naval forces.

It is a great honor to be an officer in the Soviet Armed Forces. At the same time this is also an enormous responsibility. The people entrust their sons to the officer. During their term of active duty in the army or navy, young people experience a fine school of life under the immediate supervision of commanders and political workers, become spiritually and physically conditioned, and acquire political, military-technical knowledge and requisite skills. The development and maturing of a serviceman depend to a decisive degree on the knowledge, professional and pedagogic expertise as well as the personal example of the officer.

The principal focal area of the complex and diversified professional activity of the officer is securing of a high level of combat readiness of troops and naval forces. This demands of him constant composure and the ability to subordinate personal needs and interests to the interests of the military service. It would be no exaggeration to state that an officer's life comprises daily, genuine, practical heroism, the highest degree of good citizenship, patriotism and internationalism in action.

The enormous importance and exceptional responsibility of the job entrusted to the officer by the party and people impose high demands on his moral-political, professional and job-related qualities. The Soviet officer is a person who is totally dedicated to the Communist Party and his people and who possesses profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, a broad political outlook, and great general knowledgeability. He is a person who possesses comprehensive professional training, excellent moral-fighting qualities, and who possesses consummate knowledge of the combat capabilities of the various weapons, the techniques and modes of their combat employment. He is a military leader, who skillfully relies on the collective in his work, who employs modern methods of training and indoctrinating his men, and who is capable of organizing their labor and leading them to great feats.

Communist ideological content comprises the foundation of the excellent moral-political and professional qualities of the Soviet officer. His firmness and consistency in implementing party policy, his conscientious attitude toward military duty, and his demandingness on himself and others are based on it. It determines the officer's spiritual countenance, his feelings and will, and permeates all his actions and deeds. The Soviet officer is distinguished by inner composure, faithfulness to his word, the ability in all situations to maintain self-control and composure, readiness and the capability to execute orders precisely and promptly. It is not mere happenstance that we link with the countenance of the officer our ideas about strong will, flawless organization and discipline, and an initiative-filled and innovative approach to the job. All these qualities of the officer beneficially influence his

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subordinates and the military collective, and help achieve excellent results in training and indoctrination work.

The heroic history of our Armed Forces and daily army and navy realities show the enormous, truly inestimable importance of the officer's personal example in performance of military duty for successful accomplishment of combat missions, personnel training and indoctrination tasks, and strengthening of military discipline. Without this there is not and cannot be genuine officer authority, and consequently genuine success in an officer's work.

In general terms, no position per se brings authority and respect. The authority of a position is by no means synonymous with the authority of the person who occupies it. And whoever thinks that authority will be automatically guaranteed to him together with appointment to a given position is profoundly in error. There is an apt saying that it is not the position which embellishes the man but rather the man who embellishes the position. This is why it is important constantly to think about how one can justify through one's labor, organization of one's job, and achievement of concrete results in increasing the combat readiness of the subunit, unit, and warship the trust one has been given and one's conformity with one's position. Only in this manner is it possible to earn genuine authority.

But earning authority does not end things. It must continuously be reinforced by deeds, and not only deeds connected with performance of duty. There are many facets to the authority of the leader which assume special importance in the conditions of the Armed Forces. An officer is emulated by his subordinates: in battle during time of war, and during time of peace -- in training, performance of duty, and volunteer work, as well as during off-duty hours. This is why an officer's businesslike efficiency, moral purity, modesty, solicitous and comradely attitude toward his men, and the ability to gain their affection are of enormous significance both for the moral climate in a military collective and for the success of all an officer's activities. Constant living contacts with his subordinates help an officer find the right path to their hearts. And he who possesses a soldier's heart possesses the secret of victory.

Perhaps nothing does greater harm to an officer's authority than discrepancy between his words and deeds and departure from ethical standards. Rudeness, conceit, and opinionated self-confidence are just as much antipodes of authority as cowardice, indecision, and attempts to play up to one's subordinates. Genuine respect does not tolerate excessive familiarity. It is essentially no less insulting than haughtiness. Equable, comradely relations with one's subordinates do not exclude unwavering observance of all the demands of subordination. At the same time they assume a deep mutual understanding. No matter how erudite, talented and hard-working an officer may be, without reliance on his subordinates, without the ability to guide their will, energy and knowledge toward achieving common success, he will never be able to head his unit, not technically but in actual fact, or effectively lead his men. "The leader-Communist," wrote V. I. Lenin, "should prove his right to leadership by the fact and only by the fact that he /finds [it.]/ for himself /many [it.]/, and ever more assistants... that he /knows how [it.]/ to help /them [it.]/ work, to advance /them [it.]/, to show and take into consideration /their [it.]/ experience."⁶

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Such an ability presupposes, in addition to all else, the competency of a leader. Soviet officers are highly educated individuals, possessing extensive professional training. Its foundations are laid down at military educational institutions, and these are reliable, solid foundations. But the main school for every individual is the school of practical activity, the school of life itself. And in order to keep up with its demands, an officer must work tirelessly, day after day, replenishing his store of political, scientific, military and specialized knowledge, improving his skills and working with an eye to the future. Unfortunately one still encounters certain officers who stop in their ideological and professional growth and are content with the store of knowledge they have already acquired. And they rationalize this with claims of being busy and lacking opportunities for independent study on a systematic basis.

What can be said in this regard? Indeed, as a rule an officer does not have very much time available for independent study. Therefore he must efficiently utilize his time, learn to pinpoint the main, most important thing in his work -- that which primarily determines the effectiveness of the training and indoctrination process and the quality of performance of the tasks facing the subunit, unit, or warship. It is no less important to master the ability to plan work with precision, to organize it, and correctly to distribute time and resources. Scientific organization of labor begins precisely with this.

Correct organization of the activities of officer personnel should combine well-conceived individual planning of the workday with the most efficient distribution of time across the entire vast spectrum of duties performed by them on a daily basis, on the scale of the subunit, unit, warship, headquarters, or establishment. This is particularly essential because continuously more complex tasks must be accomplished in the shortest possible time and, consequently, efficient utilization of the time and energy of officers directly determines not only an improvement in the level of their own training but, and to no less a degree, the effectiveness and quality of training and indoctrination of personnel. Close oversight in trivial matters, superiors doing the work for subordinates, and elements of unnecessary duplication and over-cautiousness, which are still encountered at times, have nothing in common with correct organization of labor.

Naturally it is not easy to learn correctly to organize one's own labor and that of one's subordinates. Military educational institutions should play a quite appreciable role in resolving this problem. They should lay down the foundation of a high degree of personal organization of an officer and focus him on an initiative-filled, innovative approach to the task and persistent effort to add to and refresh his knowledge. Senior commanders, political agencies, party and Komsomol organizations are called upon to work tirelessly on strengthening and development of such qualities throughout an officer's entire term of service. But the main condition for an officer's successful activities and continuous growth is tireless work to improve himself, purposeful and continuous improvement of his own knowledge and skills.

For inquiring, aggressive officers of initiative, extensive opportunities for self-improvement and mastery of the summit of military and specialized

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knowledge are opened up by alert duty, exercises, flight activities and naval cruises, training drills and classes, in the process of which one studies and solves in a new way many problems pertaining to mastering operation and maintenance of weapons and combat equipment as well as organization of training and indoctrination work. One can state with complete confidence that only that officer who throughout his entire term of service studies persistently, improves his knowledge and skills, and innovatively applies them in his daily activities is capable of meeting the demands of the time and achieves success in training and indoctrination of subordinates and leading his subunit, unit, or warship.

Officers' work results depend directly on their skilled utilization of the enormous influence of party and Komsomol organizations in the interests of successfully accomplishing the tasks of combat and political training and strengthening discipline. Commanders of subunits, units, and naval ships who are CPSU members, comprising the majority of our command cadres, rely in their work on the party organizations and direct their activities toward successful accomplishment of combat missions, combat and political training schedules, and strengthening of military discipline. Commanders who are not members of the CPSU should also, in accomplishing these tasks, work in the closest relationship with party organizations, rely on them, and utilize in every possible way the experience of Communists and the strength of the party activists.

Guiding the activities of party organizations and relying on them, commanders give a personal example of active participation in the life and affairs of the party organization, foster the development of criticism and self-criticism, listen to the advice and suggestions of party members, support their initiative, make use of their experience, and constantly seek to ensure that the party organization constitutes in actual fact the cementing, mobilizing force of the military collective.

The ability to obtain support from the party organization and guide its activities does not come to an officer automatically. Experience and political maturity are needed for this. This is why concern for the development of officers, especially young officers, and concrete, purposeful, daily work by commanders, political agencies and party organizations to instill in them a degree of personal responsibility for flawless performance of their duties are so important.

Naturally each officer has his own specific duties and his own, to a certain degree individual style of activity. Nor could it be any different, for there does not exist any uniform recipe of actions "for every case." But there are demands which are common for all. These include first and foremost mastery of a Leninist work style, a responsible attitude toward one's duties, industriousness and modesty, high-mindedness, unity of word and deed, demandingness and at the same time sensitivity toward others, toward their needs and aspirations.

Soviet officers work persistently to master modern methods of leadership and work constantly to improve the effectiveness and quality of their work. They

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mobilize army and navy personnel to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and direct the military labor of personnel, aimed at successful accomplishment of combat and political training curricula and schedules, socialist pledges, and the tasks assigned by the party and people to the Armed Forces.

Being individuals with a strong sense of duty, with outstanding ideological-political, professional and moral qualities, Soviet officers, just as all Armed Forces personnel, are closely united behind the Communist Party and its Central Committee. They dedicate their energy, knowledge and experience to the cause of unswerving increase in the fighting strength and combat readiness of the Armed Forces and strengthening of the defense capability of the homeland.

3. By the Entire Force of Party Influence

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev called party-political work a powerful weapon of our army. "The force of this weapon," he emphasized, "has been tested in the flame of battle. It continues today to frighten our enemies."⁷

Permeated by Leninist ideas about defense of the socialist homeland, party-political work, with its characteristic means and methods, mobilizes servicemen for flawless performance of their patriotic and internationalist duty and for successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the Armed Forces. It exercises a deep influence on the consciousness and feelings of personnel, unites military collectives, and fosters an improvement in the level of control of troops and naval forces. It occupies a most important place in implementation of the indoctrinational role of the Armed Forces.

The significance of party-political work in the army and navy is steadily growing. This is connected with the increasing complexity of the tasks of Armed Forces training and combat readiness and with the sociopolitical and military-technical features of contemporary war, which imposes greater demands than ever before on the moral-political and psychological conditioning of personnel.

The forms and methods of party-political work are improving year by year. It is being conducted taking into account the specific features of the various categories of personnel and in an organic link with the concrete tasks of the troops and naval forces as well as the conditions in which servicemen live and work. /Concentration of the coordinated efforts of commanders, political agencies, party and Komsomol organizations on the decisive areas of party-political work,/ which proceed from the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress, the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Indoctrination Work" dated 26 April 1979, plus other party documents, promotes increased effectiveness of party-political work.

Forming a scientific ideological outlook in servicemen, indoctrination of total dedication to the cause of the party and Communist ideals, socialist patriotism and internationalism have been and continue to be the main areas of party-political work in the army and navy. Resting on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist teaching, this work is called upon to arm personnel, utilizing all its forms and methods, with a deep and clear understanding of the laws and

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prospects of societal development. Well-argued propaganda of the enormous advantages and achievements of socialism and the socialist way of life comprises one more most important area of party-political work. It should also aggressively and convincingly expose the reactionary, antipopular essence of imperialism and its domestic and foreign policy, the anti-Soviet thrust of its military preparations, and form in personnel a high degree of political vigilance and a clear understanding of their responsibility for reliable defense of the achievements of socialism and preserving world peace.

Indoctrination of servicemen in the revolutionary, fighting and labor traditions of the Communist Party, the Soviet people, and our Armed Forces constitutes the combat sector of party-political work. It is impossible to imagine today's army and navy life without continuous vital contacts between personnel and veterans of the party and the Armed Forces, with Heroes of the Soviet Union and heroes of socialist labor, and with veterans of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War. Words spoken by veterans -- persons who constitute living embodiment of the legendary fame of the Armed Forces -- exert enormous influence on the minds and hearts of young servicemen. The activities of veterans -- both those who continue to serve in the army or navy and those working in various areas of the building of communism, as well as those who are today enjoying a deserved rest -- require constant attention and support on the part of commanders, political agencies, Armed Forces party and Komsomol organizations.

An important indoctrinational role is played by combat glory evenings organized in subunits, units, and on naval ships, excursions to the museums of military units and combined units, the holding of classes in these museums, and visits to sites of historic battles and engagements. As a rule all these measures, which are distinguished by a strong emotional effect, are transformed into genuine lessons of courage, staunchness, and faithfulness to patriotic and internationalist duty. A large, very important and needed job is being done by those commanders and political workers who seek to ensure that every man becomes quite familiar with the fighting history of his regiment, ship, or combined unit and feels pride in the fact that he has the honor to serve under a combat banner covered with heroic glory and is aware of his own personal responsibility for worthy continuation of and adding to the military valor of older generations.

Our Armed Forces are correctly called a school of patriotism and socialist internationalism. Every army and navy collective constitutes an amicable, unified fighting family, in which serve representatives of the Soviet Union's various nationalities and ethnic groups. The spiritual ties which bind them are strong and indissoluble. The fighting friendship of Soviet servicemen with the men of the armies of the brother socialist nations is also permeated by a spirit of internationalism.

Genuine patriots and internationalists, the men of the USSR Armed Forces, just as all Soviet citizens, display class solidarity with the world Communist and worker movement and with fighters for social and national liberation. They well understand that the military labor of the servicemen of the Soviet Nation is labor for the sake of peace and the social progress of mankind.

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All areas of party-political work are inseparably interlinked, supplement and enrich one another. And they all should be focused on achieving end results which would maximally promote steady improvement in the training of troops and naval forces, strengthening of personnel discipline and organization, and increased Armed Forces combat readiness.

It is quite obvious that party-political work cannot be effective if it is conducted in separation from the daily life and activities of troops and naval forces. Its effectiveness depends directly on /the pertinence of the content and conformity of the work forms and methods to the educational and overall cultural level of personnel./ Our time is a time of an enormously increased scale and complexity of tasks being performed by the Soviet people. It is also a time of an extremely acute ideological contest between socialism and capitalism. And it is very important not to ignore in party-political work so-called difficult problems which sometimes arise and to answer them in a prompt and timely manner, for if we do not respond to such questions, as was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "our country's foes will attempt to utilize this to slander socialism."⁸

Of course it is not easy to discuss sensitive subjects. A high degree of competence is required, as well as the ability to reveal the class essence of phenomena and facts and persuasively to expose lies, disinformation, and forged evidence. It is not mere happenstance that the ideological front is called the front of struggle for people's minds and hearts. And every commander, political worker and officer should possess a consummate mastery of the art of attacking and winning on this front. To instill in personnel class self-awareness, implacability toward views and ways which are alien to us, and to fortify by every means the active life position of the citizen-soldier, patriot and internationalist is the honorable and responsible task of all those who carry into the masses the ideas of the party, who explain its policy, who organize and conduct party-political work.

The effectiveness of party-political work also depends to an enormous degree on how fully it takes into account /new trends and specific features in the development of military affairs and changes in the qualitative state of troops and naval forces./ One must constantly bear in mind those moral, psychological and physical ordeals which personnel may encounter in a contemporary war, and conduct party-political work in such a manner that it actively helps increase the fighting, ideological, and moral staunchness of personnel. The main indicator of a serviceman's ability to overcome all difficulties and privations for the sake of accomplishing the combat mission is his practical actions and concrete deeds in complex circumstances. One must proceed from this in planning and organizing party-political work and in evaluating its state and results.

The wealth of experience of our Armed Forces attests to the fact that party-political work is more fruitful when it has a stronger link with combat training of troops and naval forces. Today an increasingly important place in party-political work is occupied by questions connected with mastery by personnel of modern weapons and combat equipment, improving the quality of combat training, increasing the return on each training hour and each training class, and by achieving savings in funds and resources.

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An immutable rule of party-political work is /continuity./ Any pauses whatsoever are intolerable, and its vigorousness should be directly proportional to the complexity of the situation and the tasks being performed. Activeness of party-political work is measured not by the number of planned and conducted measures. The determining criterion here is the force of the continuous, effective party influence on all aspects of the daily life and activities of servicemen.

The art of attaining such influence was revealed with impressive depth and convincingness in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book "Malaya Zemlya." Discussing the experience of party-political work in a combat situation, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev notes: "Flowery speeches and auditoriums were not needed, but rather frank, man-to-man and, I would say, heartfelt talks. I took part in most of the party meetings held in the combat combined units and units, and I frequently simply got together and talked with the men. Usually I was able to find a common tongue with the soldiers and sailors, although I did not use any special techniques for this. Whether it was a serious discussion or a joking conversation, I tried to conduct myself in a simple and equable manner. And I always spoke the truth, however unpleasant it might be. I should note that there were some officers who tried to represent themselves as a hail-fellow-well-met. Naturally the men immediately sensed the phoniness of this deliberate familiarity, and from that moment on they would no longer be frank and open.

"The majority of our political section people, political instructors, Komsomol organizers, and agitators succeeded in finding the right approach and enjoyed authority among the men, and the important thing was that the men knew that at a difficult moment that person who was appealing to them to hold fast would be alongside them, would remain with them, and would lead them forward with weapon in hand. The fact is that our chief weapon was the impassioned party word bolstered by deed -- personal example in combat. This is why the political workers became the soul of the Armed Forces."⁹

One can state without exaggeration that this excerpt from "Malaya Zemlya" offers a graphic picture of the standard of genuinely effective party-political work and of what qualities must be possessed by those persons who conduct it among the masses.

The natural /closeness of commanders, political workers, and all officers to the enlisted men,/ which has its source in the socialist nature of our Armed Forces, enables them to become quite familiar with the aspirations, needs, interests, strong points and deficiencies of subordinates. And experienced officers know how important it is not to limit themselves to the framework of military service alone. Of enormous importance for successfully forming the requisite moral-political and fighting qualities in personnel is a careful study of the life of one's subordinates prior to entering the army. Considerable indoctrinational effect in this regard is obtained by stable contacts by commanders, political workers, party and Komsomol organizations with the men's parents, schools, and the work forces at the enterprises, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, and establishments from which the young men entered the army or navy. Constituting one of the elements of the indissoluble unity between our army and the people, these contacts make it possible to ensure succession in

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the indoctrination of a young man and to obtain support from all the finest elements in him for forming and shaping the person of the defender of the socialist homeland.

Profound and comprehensive knowledge by the officer of his subordinates and the ability, to quote V. I. Lenin, to earn their boundless trust by a comradely relationship and solicitous concern for meeting their needs are essential conditions for effective party influence on personnel. Only by knowing people and by relying on living contacts with them, on their trust and support, can one achieve a high state of personnel morale and inspire them to perform selfless military labor and achieve flawless performance of military duty.

Obviously without knowledge of people's individual peculiarities, proclivities, and interests, their place and role in the collective, party-political work cannot be correctly planned. Closely coordinated with the tasks performed by personnel, it introduces a political element into the organization and content of combat training, into the development of socialist competition, and into the campaign for a steady improvement in combat readiness.

/Party organizations/ constitute the political nucleus and cementing force of military collectives in our Armed Forces. their activeness and aggressiveness determine to an enormous degree the results of party-political work. Ideological and organizational activity by Communists, their living word, and an example of flawless performance of military duties are effective factors of party influence on the soldier masses.

Communists have marched in the front ranks of servicemen from the very beginning of existence of our Armed Forces. They are always to be found where the going is most difficult and where success is forged. To be at the forefront is the sole privilege of a person who carries a party card by his heart. Pointing to this fact, the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) emphasized that belonging to a Communist party cell does not give a soldier any special rights but merely imposes upon him the obligation to be the most selfless and courageous fighting man.

Army and navy Communists are unswervingly faithful to this lofty obligation. Just as in the past, today as well they display examples of flawless performance of party and military duty, tireless improvement of ideological conditioning and professional expertise, opposition to complacency, support of marshalling unused reserve potential and capabilities, as well as unswerving increase in the vigilance and combat readiness of troops and naval forces.

/Komsomol organizations/ are reliable and faithful assistants of Armed Forces party organizations. They make a worthy contribution to the development of young servicemen who enter the army and navy direct from factory machines, from kolkhoz fields, and from the schoolroom. And the activeness and aggressiveness of Komsomol organizations of subunits, units, and warships determine to a considerable degree whether young servicemen feel from their very first steps in the service the support of the collective and whether they develop a firm faith in success and the endeavor to continue and build upon the achievements of their predecessors.

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Initially raw recruits naturally encounter many difficulties. They do not immediately become accustomed to the rigorous army and navy life, the intensive rhythm of military labor, and the high demands of military service. The overwhelming majority of soldiers rapidly overcome these difficulties. But it also sometimes happens that many things fail to work out smoothly for a new conscript. It is important here to encourage a person in a timely manner and, if necessary, to correct him, to keep him from stumbling, to help him assume a worthy place in the glorious ranks of armed defenders of the socialist homeland.

Party-political work in the Soviet Army and Navy actively promotes successful accomplishment of all the tasks facing them. Its effectiveness and the steady strengthening of party influence on all aspects of the life and activities of personnel are attested by the persistent struggle by servicemen to achieve excellent, stable performance indices in training and service, complete achievement of socialist pledges, and for further improvement in Armed Forces combat readiness.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 36, page 366.
2. Ibid., Vol 51, page 50.
3. PRAVDA, 16 September 1981.
4. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [Following a Leninist Course], Vol 2, page 206.
5. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 37, page 200.
6. Ibid., Vol 42, page 325.
7. Brezhnev, op. cit., Vol 2, page 51.
8. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 75.
9. L. I. Brezhnev, "Na strazhe mira i sotsializma" [Guarding Peace and Socialism], page 560.

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CONCLUSION

Under the guidance of their tested and proven fighting vanguard -- the Leninist Communist Party -- the Soviet people are consistently and tirelessly implementing the historic guidelines of the 26th CPSU Congress. Engaging in shock-work labor in all areas of building communism, they are increasing the economic and defense might of the homeland. Day by day the international position of the Soviet Union is growing stronger, as is the beneficial influence of its inalterably peace-seeking, firm foreign policy.

The USSR Armed Forces are reliably guarding the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the great achievements of socialism, and world peace. They comprise an organic part of the developed socialist society and are inseparably linked with the worker masses. Embodied in their countenance are the finest traits of our people. Soviet servicemen possess a high degree of ideological conditioning, a consummate mastery of the potent weapons and combat equipment, and are honorably carrying out their duty.

The defense capability of the USSR and the combat readiness of our Armed Forces are at the level of today's demands. This is a result of consistent and unswerving implementation of the course of policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State, in which are inseparably merged tasks of construction and defense, a love of peace, and constant readiness to offer a decisive rebuff to an aggressor. Continuing this Leninist course of policy, the 26th CPSU Congress adopted an extensive program of further building of communism and demonstrated the unswerving resolve of the Communist Party and Soviet people to defend peace.

A serious threat to peace proceeds from aggressive imperialist and other reactionary circles. They are attempting to impede at all costs the objective course of the progressive development of mankind. Under the phony pretext of "Soviet military threat," militant U.S. and NATO circles are escalating militarist preparations with the aim of disrupting the present world military-strategic balance and achieving the unattainable -- military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. They are encouraging focal points of tension in various parts of the world and are waging unbridled psychological warfare against genuine socialism and the national liberation movement, against all the forces of peace and progress.

All this demands of Soviet citizens, the peoples of the brother socialist countries, and of all progressive mankind a high degree of political vigilance,

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an aggressive and resolute campaign to preserve détente and strengthen world peace.

The Soviet Union is marching in the vanguard of this campaign. Displaying firm political will and boldness as well as a realistic, farsighted approach to pressing international problems, it persistently seeks to eliminate the threat of war and strengthen the security of peoples. The new and important peace-seeking initiatives advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress have gained widespread international recognition and support as a peace program for the 1980's.

Marching shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union in building and defending the new society and in the struggle for peace are its allies and friends -- the nations of the socialist community. Unification of their efforts promotes successful accomplishment of both national and internationalist tasks and objectively corresponds to the root interests of all mankind.

The solid unity and fruitful cooperation among the nations of the socialist community is a great achievement of the brother parties and peoples, our common possession. It is steadily increasing and growing stronger. Defense of the great achievements of socialism and peace is reliably promoted by the Warsaw Pact Organization.

The Soviet Armed Forces, marching shoulder to shoulder with the brother armies, are carrying out their patriotic and internationalist duty. They possess everything needed for successfully accomplishing their assigned tasks. Soviet servicemen respond to the concern of the party and people, to the love and trust of the working people with selfless military labor. Campaigning together with the entire people to carry out the guidelines of the 26th CPSU Congress, they are working persistently to improve the effectiveness and quality of combat and political training and are tirelessly strengthening the vigilance and combat readiness of the army and navy.

The Soviet people can be assured that their offspring, the Armed Forces, are on guard and vigilant at all times, always prepared to repel aggression from any quarter. Indoctrinated by the party and closely united behind it, Soviet servicemen are honorably carrying out their duty and are selflessly and devotedly serving the homeland and the cause of communism.

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